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THE KUSHANAS IN INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

BY

DR. B. N. PURI

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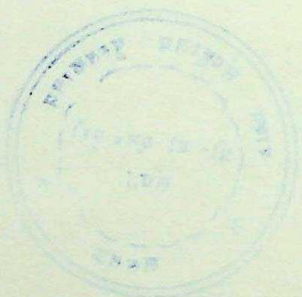

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PREFACE

This new work aims at presenting the history and culture of the Kushanas both in India and in Central Asia in a wider perspective. My study of the subject lasting for more than five decades, with intermittent breaks for concentrating on other projects, has now reached its finale. Ever since my work on "India Under the Kushanas" was published nearly thirty years back, a lot of new material is available in published form, including the 'Papers relating to the date of Kaniska' - London Conference, 1960 (Leyden 1968) ; and the two Volumes covering the Proceedings of the Diushambe (Tajikistan) Conference on Central Asia in the Kushana Period (Moscow) 1968). The latest is the second volume of the 'History of Civilisation of Central Asia' - A UNESCO Project (1994). I had occasion to participate in the Diushambe Conference, as also in three seminars relating to the Kushanas, organised by the Centre of Kushana Studies at Kabul in the eighties. As Joint-Editor of the Second Volume of the UNESCO work, I had occasion to go through the Papers contributed by eminent scholars, and I also contributed two papers for this volume on the 'Indo-Parthians' and the 'Kushanas'. The comprehensive nature of this work as also contacts with other members of the International Board of Editors have widened my academic horizon as also expanded the area of my Kushana studies. Hence the present work seeks to to concentrate on the multi-facet aspects of the history and culture of the Kushanas on a much wider scale than earlier contemplated.

The political history of the Kushanas is divided into five chapters, instead of the four in my earlier work. It includes chapters on 'the Nationality of the Kushanas', 'the Kadphises',

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'Kanishka and his successors', 'the Later Kushanas' and a new one entitled 'The Kushana remnants in Central Asia and the Kidara Kushanas'. The newly available material has been utilised in these chapters. Unfortunately it has not been possible to change or amend my views on the date of Kanishka which was earlier endorsed by Ghirshman. According to my scheme of chronological setting, the Later Kushanas include Kanishka of the year 14, Vasishka, and Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 as also of the other record of 31 from the ruins of the Kushana sanctuary at Surkh-Kotal. This study is based on palaeographic and numismatic source material. It seeks to obliterate chronological overlapping, particularly in the period of Huvishka's reign. The last chapter, of course, is an addition with proper documentation.

The chapters following cover administration, culture in its socio-religious, economic and educational aspects, Language and Literature. These have separate sections on Central Asia. In this context it was not possible to integrate the Central Asian data within the Indian cultural scheme. Religion - particularly Buddhism and its literature found in Central Asia, however, deserve special attention. So also Art and Architecture with its different centres in Bactria and Gandhara, and the pictorial art of the earlier period at Miran have been considered in detail. The art at Mathura has a claim of its own for its indigenous traditions and gradual evolution. The impact of the Gandhara art on that of Bactria has been acknowledged. The last chapter is the summing up of the contributions of the Kushanas in Asian perspective which was positive, effective and of a lasting nature. Finally an overall picture of this study of history and culture

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relating to the Kushanas is presented. This picture portrays political unity established over a vast region comprising of people of different nationalities and religions, living in peaceful co-existence. The rulers were eclectic in their outlook. This political stability ensured peace and progress resulting in material prosperity.

In this work the two Appendices on 'Kushana Inscriptions' and 'Kushan Numismatics' have been dropped. My earlier work entitled 'India Under the Kushanas', now out of print for over twenty years, of course has its importance as a specialised study of the history and culture of India in the Kushana period. If and When that work is reprinted, it would have its separate identity.

I am thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research for providing me a consolidated contingency grant both for this work as also for the other one relating to 'Ancient Indian Historiography' - A Bi-Centenary study (already published - 1994). The present study is probably my penultimate work, and the last one relating to history. With the few more years left, now that I am ~~rushing to catch~~ in my 80th ~~birthday~~ year this year's end, I propose concentrating next few years on 'Bhagavad Gita and Modern Life' alone. I have been going through the 'Gita' text in original for the last 15 years and I have yet to get the 'light' from within.

The book, as usual, is dedicated to the memory of my young daughter Taruna who died in a road accident in January 1980. Her memory is still fresh and green, and that alone generates my energy and provides incentive for future work.

September 15, 1994.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PP.
CHAPTER I –	THE KUSHANAS	1-22
	The Nationality of the Kushanas	2
	The Mongoloid origin Theory	5
	The Saka-Iranian Theory	8
	Classical Greek and Latin Sources	9
	Indian Sources	10
	Conclusion	12
	Footnotes	14
CHAPTER II –	THE KADPHISES	23
	The Sources	24
	The Date of Kujula Kadphises and the old Saka Era	27
	Kujula Kadphises and Hermaeus	31
	Kujula Kadphises and the western world	32
	Kujula Kara Kadphises	34
	Vima Kadphises	36
	Vima Kadphises and his accession	37
	Vima Kadphises and the Saka Kshatrapas	38
	Vima Kadphises and Soter Megas	43
	Vima Kadphises and his relations with China and Rome	47
	The Intruders in Kushana History	50
	Footnotes	54
CHAPTER III –	KANISHKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS	66
	The Date of Kanishka	67
	Ghirshman's dating of Kanishka & Central Asian Sites	68
	Rebuttal and support by some scholars	69
	The Begram Excavations and after	70
	The Trilingual Inscription of Shapur	71
	Archaeological Evidence from other Central Asian sites	72
	Majumdar and Zeymal and the Third Century date	73
	The Saka Theory and its Examination	74
	Numismatic Evidence	77
	The Indian Numismatic Evidence	81
	Indian Archaeology, Gandhara Art, and the date of Kanishka	83
	Astronomical Data	86
	Chinese Sources	88
	A Resume	91
	Kanishka and his Conquests	93
	Kanishka and Central Asia	97
	Kanishka and Western India	100
	Kanishka and his Kshatrapas	103
	Kanishka, Asvaghosha and Buddhism	103
	The end of Kanishka's rule and his successor	105
	Huvishka	106
	Huvishka and his titles in records	107

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		Huvishka and his Religion	108
		Vasudeva	111
		The end of the Family	112
		Footnotes	117
CHAPTER IV	-	THE LATER KUSHANAS	132
		Shahi Vamataksha	133
		Kanishka II	134
		Vaskushana - Vasishka	136
		Kanishka III	138
		Numismatic Evidence	140
		Archaeological Evidence	142
		The End	143
		Footnotes	145
CHAPTER V	-	THE KUSHANA REMNANTS IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE KIDAR KUSHANAS	149
		Sassanid-Kushana Relations	150
		The Sassanian Governors, Kushans & Rome	151
		Impact of Sassanian art in the East	152
		The Little Kushanas and Chionite threats	153
		The Kushano-Sassanian Governors and their coinage	153
		The Kidar Kushans	156
		The Little Yueh-Chi and the Little Kushans	157
		Dispersal of the Kushans from Bactria	158
		Kidara and Piro - their Coinage	159
		Date of Kidara	160
		Shahpur III and Kidara	161
		Kidarites and the Hunas	162
		Later Sassanid-Kidarite Relations	163
		Peroz's Victory & Economic Decline of Iran	164
		The Final Review	164
		Footnotes	166
CHAPTER VI	-	ADMINISTRATION	170
		The Position and Powers of the King	171
		Kshatrapas and the Mahakshatrapas	172
		Dandanayakas and Mahadandanayakas	175
		Gramikas and Padrapalas	178
		The Central Asian Counter-Part	179
		Footnotes	184
CHAPTER VII	-	SOCIAL LIFE	188
		Social Divisions	189
		Family Life	190
		Marriage	192
		Dress and Ornaments	193
		Toilet and Treatment of Hair	197
		Pastime and Recreations	199
		Food	202
		Housing Arrangements	204

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	Luxuries and Social Evils	205
	Disposal of the Dead	205
	Indian Culture in Central Asia	207
	Family Life	208
	Status of Women and Slaves	210
	Food and Food Habits	211
	Dress and Ornaments	212
	Pastime and Recreations	214
	Footnotes	216
CHAPTER VIII -	ECONOMIC LIFE	228
	Guilds	229
	Business and Traders	231
	Dealers in items of Luxuries	234
	Dealers in Provisions & Other Essentials	235
	Masons, Mechanics and Artists	235
	Workers in Metal	236
	Artisans	237
	Wild and Low Professions	238
	Labourers and Attendants	239
	Entertainers and others	239
	Professions relation to Communication	239
	Literary Men	240
	Land and its Economy	240
	Famine and Rationing	241
	Medium of Exchange and Barter	242
	Weights and Measures	243
	Lines and Means of Communication	244
	Trade and Commerce	245
	Central Asian Economy	247
	Central Asian Handicrafts and other Industries	253
	Medium of Exchange	255
	Labour and Transport	256
	Footnotes	259
CHAPTER IX --	EDUCATION	271
	The Initiation of Brahmin Pupils	272
	Kshatriyas Education	274
	Vaisyas Education	276
	Places and Methods of Study	277
	Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil	278
	Buddhist Education	280
	Vocational Education	281
	Other Vocational Trainings	284
	Female Education	285
	Scripts and Writing Material	285
	Students' Life	285
	Education in Central Asia	286
	Footnotes	290

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CHAPTER X - LITERATURE 293

Asvaghosha and his works 293
Buddhacharita 295
Saundarananda 298
Sariputraprakarana 300
Asvaghosha and Earlier Literature 302
Asvaghosha and Kalidasa 305
Asvaghosha and Early Buddhist Literature 307
Asvaghosha as a Poet 308
Nature in Asvaghosha's works 310
The Mahavastu 312
Contents and Relations with Other Texts 314
Lalitavistara 315
Avadanasataka 317
Divyavadana 318
Saddharma Pundarika 320
Age and Contents 321
Milindapanha 323
Central Asian Literature 325
Canonical Works 326
Non-Canonical Works 330
Kalpanamanditika 331
A Survey 332
Footnotes 335

CHAPTER XI - RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS 346

Brahmanism 347
Brahmanical Divinities 350
Buddhism 354
Different Schools of Buddhism 354
Literary Evidence 357
Sarvastivadins and the Buddhist Council 357
Mahasanghikas - Lokottaravadins 359
Mahayanism 360
Yogacharas 361
Madhyamikas 362
Monastic Organisation 363
Jainism 364
Dedication of Statues of different Tirthankaras 365
Classification of Jain Religious Orders 369
Role of Women 371
Foreign Elements in Jainism 371
Naga Worshippers 372
Nagas & Other Religions 374
Other Minor Religious Orders 375
Sivakas - Lakulisas & Pasupatas 376
Buddhism in Central Asia 378
Buddhism & the Southern States 382
Buddhism and Buddhist scholars in Northern States 384
Kumarajiva and his Contribution 385
Other Buddhist scholars 386
Brahmanism in Central Asia 388

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	Zoroastrianism	393
	Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity	393
	Footnotes	397
CHAPTER XII -	ART AND ARCHITECTURE	409
	Gandhara Art	410
	The Buddha Images	412
	Bodhisattvas	415
	Buddha's Life and Jataka Stories	417
	Other Divinities	420
	Architecture	421
	Mathura Art	424
	The Royal Portraits	426
	Buddha and Bodhisattvas	428
	Buddha's Life in stone	432
	Jain Statues	433
	Brahmanical Statues	433
	Nagas and Nagis Statues	437
	Architectural Pieces and Bacchanalian scenes	438
	Terracottas	439
	Foreign Elements	440
	The Kushana Art in Central Asia - Afghanistan	442
	Dilverjin, Bamiyan	444
	Paintings	445
	Begram	446
	Hadda	447
	Tiliya-Tepe	448
	Patava and Shotorak	449
	Tepe Maranjan	450
	Western Central Asia	450
	Khalchayan	451
	Toprak-Kala	452
	The Cemetries	453
	The Art of Serindia	453
	The Paintings at Miran	454
	Some Notable Paintings	455
	The Technique of Miran Paintings	458
	An Estimate	458
	The Khotan Complex	459
	Hindu Influence	460
	Other Impacts and Subjects	461
	The Indian Influence	462
	The Frescoes and their Dual Purpose	463
	A Review	463
	Footnotes	467
CHAPTER XIII -	THE KUSHANAS AND THE ASIAN PERSPECTIVE	479
	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	

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CHAPTER I

THE KUSHANS

The chronology of the Kushans[1] continues to be one of the most perplexing problems of ancient Indian History. Optimistic faith in progress towards general consensus on the date of Kanishka is still far from realization. What was supposed by Vincent Smith[2] in 1919 to be an uncertainty reduced to a period of forty years is now advanced by another twenty-five to thirty years. The unearthing of new evidence, as for example, from Ghirshman's excavations at Begram.[3] The find of a new inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 31[4] and the Kamra inscription[5] of Vajheshka (Vasishka) of the year 20 add another twist to the already existing gordian knot of Kushan chronology. The Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 is no longer an intruder between Kanishka and Huvishka, but he seems to have had a longer lease of existence as a Kushan ruler. Dictated simply by a desire to keep on a level with the available evidence, a second colloquium on the subject of the date of Kanishka was arranged in April 1960 at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. As reported in the Introduction to the Proceedings, 'The Conference ended in an agreement to differ. The great labour and learning which were put into the papers written for the Conference, and into the discussions at the Conference itself, have not solved the problem', in the words of Basham,[6] the Chairman of the Conference and also the Editor of the Paper, 'which is bedevilled by evidence, none of it absolutely conclusive, pointing in different directions'. Scholars in this Seminar repeated without qualm the old theories

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of A.D. 78, or that of 128 A.D. and even of A.D. 144 relying within the bounds of possibility. According to Basham, once again,[7] 'there is no doubt that Kanishka fits best into the frame work of the whole history of India if we date his accession in A.D. 78. The literary and epigraphical evidence from within India would strongly suggest that year. On the other hand, approaching the subject from the Iranian or Chinese point of view, or from the angle of numismatics, the evidence strongly suggests a later date. There is want of agreement despite the fact that so many scholars[8] have grappled with the subject within the last ninety years or more. In this context, the problem of the nationality of the Kushans vis-a-vis their relations with the Yueh-Chih demands prior consideration before fixing the time-table of the history of the Kushans.

The Nationality of the Kushans :

The question of the nationality of the Kushans is not a new one. It had previously engaged the attention of several scholars.[9] They took into account the names of the Kushan rulers, their designations, dress and features depicted on their coins, and lastly the reference to tribes in Indian, Classical Greek and Chinese sources as could be equated in this context. The available evidence on the subject, however, needs proper sifting and scrutiny before arriving at any tentative suggestion. It was suggested by F.W.Thomas[10] that the Kushans were neither Turks nor Mongols, but belonged to an Iranian or more precisely to some division of the Scythians or the Sakas. The names Kadphises or Kaneski (Kanishka), Ooeski (Huvishka) have endings in es or i, in conformity with

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the same endings in Maues, Azes, Pseiga Kharis suggest Parthian linkage. Further, the names Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka can in a certain measure be explained as Iranian Kada (goad) pise (form or appearance) as in the Scythian Spargapeithes. So also the prefix hu in Huvishka might be equated with Su meaning 'good'.

The Turkish origin theory of the Kushans as proposed by Hultzsch,[11] is linked with the name and title of the rulers of this dynasty. The name Kujula appears to be a Turkish one and the title Yavuga (Yaoos) - Chinese hi-hou associated with Kujula Kadphises, according to Hirth,[12] corresponds with Turkish Jabgu. The designation, explained similarly by Hultzsch, isequated with Gujlix,[13] meaning strong, and by Sten Konow[14] with guzel signifying'beautiful'. The advocates of the Turkish origin theory of the Kushans turn to confirmation from the Rajatarangini (1.170) which refers to the Turki kings of Gandhara claiming Kanishka as their ancestor, and the other members of his dynasty as Turushkas i.e. Turks. It is as well suggested that the features of the Kushan rulers depicted on their coins as well point to their Turkish nationality. In this context certain other scholars like Kennedy[15] are positive in their view point. He proposed that the Kushans belonged 'to the great Turki family' and Kanishka's features characterise his race. The pointed cranium, the salient check-bones, the large, long and heavy nose, the thick beard and his coins represent him as a powerful built barbarian king, clad in loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan.

The Turkish origin theory based on ethnic feature, the

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use of certain titles or designations which appear to be Turkish, and the reference to the Kushans as Turuṣka in later sources are inconclude pieces of evidence. The large nose and other features described above are characteristics of the so-called Homo-alpinus, stated to be largely represented in the population of Chinese Turkestan.[16] The history and ethnology of this region and its people suggesting Turkish element in the population are late phenomena. Sten Konow quoting Joyce, finds the purest form in the majority of the people in Wakhi whose relationship with the Galcha point to the Iranian basis of the local population. The appearance of the Turkish tribes in the region once under Kushan domination was fairly late which could account for the statements of Kalhana and Hema Chandra pointing to the Kushan rulers as Turushkas. As regards the origin of the titles or designations, Yavuga and Kujula, it is difficult to find a Turki etymology for the former.[17] The Norwegian Professor Sten Konow proposed[18] that 'it is more likely to be originally Iranian and it was subsequently adopted by others. The Kushans took the title from the Sakas and is more likely to be equated with Zauva used by the Saka Patika. As regards Kujula, its etymology and significance can not be pronounced with any degree of certainty. In the light of these objections, the Turkish origin theory of the Kushans rests on slender foundations and could be dismissed without any regret. The ethnic features of the rulers as depicted on their coins are not primarily Turkish, while the evidence adduced to project the Kushans as Turushkas is equally very late and as such unacceptable.

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The Mongoloid Origin Theory :

This theory is primarily based on the Chinese accounts which refer to a certain tribe known as Yueh-chi and record its migratory movements due to political pressures, finally landing at Ta-hia, Ta-hsia (Bactria) which was formerly under the occupation of the Sakas. Here the Yueh-Chihs divided themselves into five principalities of which the Kuei-Shuang or Kushan eventually became the dominating one. They dominated the other four yabgous. The same account is related in three sources with modifications and variations demanding proper scrutiny. According to the Tsien Han-Shu (Annals of the First Han dynasty by Pan-Ku (Pan-Kou) who incorporated the adventures of Chang Kien as related by Ssu-ma-Chien (completed before 91 B.C.), the Yueh-Chi after settling down in Ta-hsia and their division into five principalities were no longer nomads. They were pastoral and followed their flocks changing grounds along with their movements. The capital of the Ta-Yueh-Chi kingdom was Kien-Chi (Lan-Chuw) with Ki-pin lying on its southern frontiers. Among the principalities mentioned in the 'Annals of Pan-Ku', the Kuei-Shuang (Kushan) had its capital at Hou-tsao (unidentified).

Further information is given in the Hou-Han-Shu written by Fan-Ye (d. 449) known as 'Annals of the later Han dynasty'. It covers the period between A.D. 25-125 from the period of Kien-Wu (A.D. 25-55) to the end of the reign of emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125). A significant change is noticed in the account relating to the Yueh-Chi and the Kuei-Shuang. The Yueh-Chi capital mentioned in this record in Lan-shi (Khulm), the old

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Ta-hsia capital in Badakshan. The Yueh-Chi represented then the whole Ta-hsia empire, and in the words of Chavannes who translated the account, henceforth 'they are the Ta-hsia'. The details about the five principalities equally differ from the previous reference. Formerly the Great Yueh-Chi, on being overthrown by the Hsuung-nu migrated to Ta-hsia (Bactria). They divided the country among five hsi-hou (Yabgu) - Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Keui-Shuang (Kushan), Hsi-tun and Tu-mi (Tarmit). Over one hundred years later the Kuei-Shuang hsi-hou, Chiu-Chu-Chu (Kujula Kadphises) attacked and overthrew the (other) four hsi-hou and set himself up as king. The country was named Kuei-Shuang. The king attacked An-hsi (Parthia) and took the territory of Kao-Fu (Kabul). He also overthrew Pu-ta (Pushkalavati) and Chi-pin (Kashmir) and completely annexed these countries. Chiu-Chiu-Chu died when over eighty years of age. His son Yen-Kao-Chen (Vima Kadphises) succeeded him as king. He went to conquer Tien-Chu (India) and sent a general to rule over it. From that time the Yueh-Chis were extremely wealthy and prosperous. All the nations, according to Fan-Ye, call them the Kuei-Shuang (Kushan) kings but Han, keeping to the original name, calls them the Great Yueh-Chih. The location of five petty kingdoms is a difficult problem. According to E.G.Pulleyblank,[20] 'they are identified in the new Tang History with cities in Sogdiana and Khwarezmia, but the source of this information is unknown and in one or two cases atleast the equations are certainly erroneous.'

The main question on the basis of the Chinese account is : were the Kuei-Shuang, a part of the Yueh-Chih or the latter found them as one of the five principalities of the old

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kingdom who after the Yueh-Chih conquered of Ta-hsia changed their allegiance to the latter ? The Japanese scholar Kubwabara Jitzuzo[21] was the first to discover the discrepancy between the two accounts. In his opinion the authors of the Hou-Han-Shu had misunderstood the Tsien-Han-Shu. The five hi-hou are now supposed to have existed already in Ta-hsia when the Yueh-Chih invaded the Bactrian kingdom. As such, the Kushans could not have been the Yueh-Chi. Kubwabara's interpretation was accepted by Haneda, Toru,[22] Sten Konow[23] and Paul Pelliot.[24] Haloun[25] reserved his opinion on this point and Tarn[26] stood by the old theory. Maenchen-Heifen[27] suggests another alternative of Saka-Kushans in the Yueh-Chih horde.

The main argument in support of the separation of the five hi-hou from the Yueh-Chih lies in the passage 'they are all dependent on the Yueh-Chi'. It is argued that the word 'dependent' would make no sense if the hi-hou were Yueh-Chih themselves. The Mongoloid origin of the Kushans with their ~~house~~ homeland as part of the Yueh-Chih in the province of Gansu in China does not appear to be in conformity with the evidence provided by the features and dress of the Kushan monarchs ~~of~~ on their coins,[28] as also their titles and designations as well as the language.[29] ~~then~~. Above all, one cannot ignore the area of their activities. Bactria was the original nucleus and centre of the Kushan kingdom by the time the normads appeared[30] here in the 2nd century B.C. and from whose midst the Kushan dynasty probably stemmed. It as well provided rich traditions of developed state organization. It is enquired that if Bactria was the original homeland of the Kushans before their subjugation by the Yueh-Chih were they known by some other name ? An

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answer to this enquiry might be provided by the classical Greek, Latin and Sanskrit sources. They do mention the names of certain tribes in this region and the Kushans might be equated with any one of these.

The Saka-Iranian Theory :

The Saka-Iranian origin of the Kushans and their homeland in Ta-hsia did attract attention of some scholars in the past. According to Sten Konow,[31] there is some justification in concluding that several terms and designations used by the Kushans find their explanation in an Iranian language which was once used in literature and equally spoken in parts of Chinese Turkestan and only in it. Leumann[32] called it 'North-Aryan' and gave an account of its peculiarities. Pelliot[33] spoke of it as 'East-Iranian', while Luders[34] took it as a Saka language. It is called Khotani by Kirtze[35] and is no doubt a Saka language. The Sakish element in Kushan coins and inscriptions is brought out by Sten Konow, as for instance in the designations like Yavuga, Kujula, Erthuna, Muroda and Maijhaka of Zeda inscription. The coin legends of Kanishka and his successors are as well written in pure Khotanese Saka though in Greek letters. These are Shaunanu Shau Kaneski Kushano. Shau is a well-known Saka word meaning 'king', and is traced in several documents of the eighth century. It has the same base as Shahi, Shah.[36] According to Sten Konow, once again, everything points to the conclusion that the Kushans were Iranian atleast in language and the affinity with the Sakas leads us to think that they were a Saka clan or family.

The relations of the Kushans with the Yueh-Chih either

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as one of the five Yab-gou or tribe of the big pastoral race, or as one of those five clans or principalities which became dependent on the Ta-Yueh-Chih after their conquest of Ta-hsia are not clearly brought out by the Chinese sources, particularly the Annals of the second Han Dynasty of Panku in the fifth century A.D. The Yueh-Chih had occupied the whole of Ta-hsia country in the period described in the Hou-Han-Shu. The capital of the Yueh-Chih became the old Ta-hsia capital Lan-Shi in Badakshan which remained their strong hold till the fifth century A.D.[37]

The Classical Greek and Latin Sources :

The movements of the wild tribes in Central Asia is also noticed by classical Greek and Latin writers. Strabo mentions a Saka conquest of Bactria[38] where the Greek kings were ousted by the Scythian nomads. He mentions[39] some of these nomadic tribes, notably the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tochari and Sakarauloi. Trogus in the 41st Book, while recording the establishment of an empire in Bactria by Diodotus, which took place about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., also mentions how the Scythian tribes, the Saraucae, and the Asianoi took possession of Bactria and Sogdiana.[40] Further, according to Justin, the Bactrians lost both their empire and their freedom as a result of the harassment by the Sogdians, the Arachoti, the Drangae and the Arei. Finally they were oppressed by the Parthians as well. In the prologue of the 42nd Book of Trogus, there is further information about the Asiani becoming kings of the Tocharians, and the anihilation of the Saraucae.[41]

Sten Konow identified the Asiani with the Yueh-Chih of the Chinese Annals. The Tocharians were well-settled in and to

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the east of Bactria when the Yueh-Chih became their masters. The Norwegian professor reconstructs the course of events taking into account the data provided by the Classical Greek and Latin and Chinese sources. He poses the question that if the classical sources recording the course of historical events mention Tocharians as the master of Bactria - Ta-hsia before its occupation by Yueh-Chih, can we presume that the Tocharians represented one or all the five tribes or hi-hou who were in possession of Bactria before the Yueh-Chih onslaught ? This is possible if it is proposed that the establishment of the five hi-hou of which the Kuei-Shuang was the dominating one, was a fait accompli prior to the Yueh-Chih invasion and not an act subsequent to it or a part of it. The identification of the Tocharians with the Kuei-Shuang or Kushans as well necessitates consideration of the Indian source material, if any, on the subject.

Indian Sources :

In the dynastic lists of the Puranas,[42] the Tushara kings are recorded as successors of the Yavanas. Their number mentioned is 14. The Matsya assigns them a period of seven thousand years (Sapta-varsha-sahasrani), evidently a mistake for sapta-varsha-satan-iha or 107 years, while the Vayu and the Brahmanda Puranas assign them 103 years (pancha-varsha-satani). The name Tukhara appears in the Ramayana, Mahabharata as also in two old Buddhist texts, the Saddharma-Smrityupasthana and the Mahamayuri. They are located as a distinct people in the mountainous region beyond the Himalayas, and were known as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thus, all the

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sources of information mention Tukhara - Tushara as distinct people with their native land (Tokharestan) located beyond the frontiers of India.[43]

According to the Puranic sources, the kings of the Tukhara origin conquered India from the Greeks, and fourteen rulers of this dynasty ruled for more than a hundred years. They appear to be precisely the rulers called Kushans in inscriptions and coins. As the Tocharians and the Sakas mentioned in the classical Greek sources they have much in common like the Saka designations accepted by the Kushan monarchs. It may therefore be proposed that the term Saka was used in a very laxy manner from the time of the Achaemenians. The Naksh-i-Rustam inscription[44] mentions the individual Saka tribes : The Tigra-Khauda, of pointed caps, the Haumvarka, and those beyond the sea (Taradraya). It is quite likely that the Tocharians who came to be known as Tokharas to the Indians might have been one of the Saka hordes of early times, probably the Tigrakhauda, of pointed caps, as we find the Kushan rulers depicted on their coins.

There is another point worth consideration, namely the impact of Hinduism on the Kushan rulers. Unlike the Huns, probably the Hiung-nu of the Chinese, who took a long time to get assimilated in the Hindu socio-religious set-up, the Kushans faced no such problem because of their proximity to India. Kujula Kadphises, the first ruler, is described as sachadhrama-sthitasya - satyadharma-sthitasya - meaning 'steadfast in true law'. Vima Kadphises, his son, is called a Maheswara - or 'a devotee of Siva. Kanishka was a patron of all religions, a believer in eclectism - 'sages name variously that is One'.

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(ekam sad-vipra-bahudha vadanti). Huvishka closely followed his father's policy and was noted for his alms house (punyasala). The last ruler Vasudeva was a Hinduised Kushana as his name suggests. Surely it would have been difficult for a barbarian race, nomadic by nature and warring in spirit to be so easily acceptable for assimilation in the Hindu socio-religious ethos.

Conclusion :

It is therefore proposed that the Kushans were not of Mongoloid origin. They lived somewhere near Bactria or to the south of it and belonged to the ancient Saka stock. They were known as the Tocharians or Tukhara. While the Kushan rulers do not use the tribal epithet, the Indian sources continue to name them as Tusharas. As an important kingdom, they owed allegiance - rather temporary - to the Yueh-Chih, consequent to the latter's conquest of Ta-hia (Ta-hsia), but later on they asserted themselves by consolidating their position, and managed to push their way south-east. After defeating the last Greek ruler, the Kushana chief Kujula Kadphises prepared the ground for his son's conquest of India. This suggestion mooted out more than thirty-years back, seems acceptable to many scholars interested in this subject. Andre Maricq endorsed this view in his paper on 'The Date of Kaniska' read at the London Conference 1960 (published in 1968). In his words, [45] 'One may object that the Kusanas were not Sakas. It becomes, however, more and more likely that they were indeed a Saka clan ; the very name of Kaniska is a Saka name'. He quotes Bachofer (JAOS. 61 (1941) pp. 247-50) and Bailey (JRAS. 1958. p. 146) in support of his contention . He further adds that 'it is likely that Gautamiputra's title rajarajan is based on the fact that his victory

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over the Sakas implied that over the Kusana emperor'. The noted Soviet archaeologist Tolstov as well confirmed[46] that the evidence found at Khorzem points to the Kusanas as a tribe of Sakas. (Paper p. 406).

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FOOTNOTES

1. The term Kushana in its proper significance has been subject of discussion among scholars. Several slightly different forms are noticed. The Greek coin legends of Kadphises I give Koshsanu and Khoshansu while the Kharoshti form is Kushana or Khushana. In the Indian Kharoshti inscriptions one finds Gushana or Khushana. Those in the same script from Central Asia have the forms Kushana and Kurshana (Khar Ins. 79, 136, 193, 198 etc. Sten Konow : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (henceforth CII Vol.II, part I, p. xlix). The famous Mat Inscription (near Mathura) mentions Kushanaputra (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, henceforth ASI. An. Rep.) 1911-12 pp. 12 ff. The Chinese Annals refer to Kuei-Shuang, while in the Kalpanamanditika of Kumaralata King Kanishka is stated to be of the family of Kiu-sha, evidently Kusha according to Luders (Bruchstucke der Kalpanamanditika des Kumaralata, Leipzig, 1926, p. 67, quoted by Sten Konow - ibid). The word Kushana is taken by Baron A. Von Stael Holstein to be the genitive plural of Kusha (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society - henceforth JRAS - 1914, pp. 79ff). According to Manchen-Helfen, whether Kushana was genitive plural or an adjective, as supposed by Sten Konow (Journal of Indian History - henceforth JIH-1933, pp. 643ff ; CII. p. xlix), the existence of a short form Kusha (Kushi) cannot be doubted. It is the name by which the Kushanas were known to many of the peoples with whom they had direct or indirect relations. He also compiled various forms of Kusha, and names of Kusha towns. (Journal of American Oriental Society - henceforth JAOS - 65, pp. 74ff). In India these were known as Kushanas. The Manikiala inscription mentions the expression Gushnavasasamvardhaka - evidently a scion of the Gushana or Kushana family (CII. p. 149). For a fuller list of variations, ref. Fleet. JRAS - 1914, p. 396 ; Konow : Epigraphia Indica - henceforth EI - April 1918 p. 288). K.P.Jayaswal considered Kushana to be the personal name of the founder of this dynasty - Kujula Kadphises (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society - henceforth JBORS-XVI, 1930, p. 256. The proceedings of the London Conference have the form Kusanas or Kushans ; the Diushambe Conference proceedings use the name Kushan - the form as well adopted in the UNESCO 'History of Civilisations of Central Asia' (~~under print~~). This is used here, except when recorded in other forms by some scholars.

2. Oxford history of India, 2nd ed. pp. 126-27, quoted by ~~Prof~~. Basham (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London - henceforth BSOAS- 1953, XV/1. p. 30). This is a modification, and definitely an improvement on his earlier statements : "the date of Kanishka, and in consequence the relation of that monarch, as well as that of his predecessors and successors, to the facts of known history. Conjecture was busy, and assigned for the accession of Kanishka various dates ranging over a period of more than three centuries and a quarter from B.C. to A.D. 278". (JRAS,

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1903, p. 2). The London Conference discussions were concentrated on three dates for Kanishka's accession to power, A.D. 103 (Narain), A.D. 78 (Tolstov and others) and A.D. 144 (Ghirshman's dating supported by the Chinese sources).

3. Begram, Researches archaeologiques et' historiques sur les Kouchans. Memoires de la Delegation archaeologique francaise en Afghanistan, tome XII, Cairo, 1946 (Henceforth Begram). See also Fouilles de' Begram - Journal Asiatique - henceforth JA. 234. pp. 59ff.

4. A Marico, La grande inscription de Kanishka et l'eteotokharian. JA. 246. pp. 345ff. See also D.Schlumberger. et al : Surkh Kotal en Bactriane 2 Vols. Mem. DAFA. XXV. Paris-1983.

5. The inscription recorded on a stone slab found about 3 feet below surface at a village named Kamra, 6 miles north-east of Campbellpur (Pakistan) was edited by B.N.Mukherji (Indian Museum Bulletin, 1973, pp. 111ff).

6. Basham, A.L. (ed). Papers on the Date of Kaniska. Leiden-1968 - Introduction pp. ix-xiii.

7. ibid. p. 10.

8. A comprehensive Bibliography on the subject might not be out of place here. Cunningham was the first person to tackle this problem, (Archaeological Survey Report - henceforth ASR. II. p. 68 note ; III. p. etc.) for the Vikrama era theory, followed by another contention that the Kushana inscriptions must be dated in the Seleucidan era, and the accession of Kanishka be placed in A.D.80 (Book of India Eras. p. 42). Sylvain Levi suggested about B.C. 5 as the beginning of the reign of Kanishka (JA. Nov-Dec. 1896 ; Mai-Juin 1897 pp. 62, 66, 82 - Notes sur la Indo-Scythes(. According to Boyer, Kanishka's accession might be later than A.D. 90 (L'epoque de Kanishka - JA. Mai-Juin 1900). The Bhandarkars placed Kanishka's accession in A.D. 278 (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society - henceforth JBBRAS-1900). D.R.Bhandarkar later on gave up his old views on the subject and suggested A.D. 128 as the initial year of Kanishka's era (IC. VII. p. 140n). Fergusson and Oldenberg's theory that Kanishka was the founder of the Saka era in A.D. 78 (Indian Antiquary - henceforth IA-X. 213) resting, according to Smith, on 'very substantial arguments' was commonly regarded by English writers (and a good many Indian historians as well - Ref. Raychaudhari : Political History of Ancient India - henceforth PHAI-3rd ed. p.321 - as a truth substantially probable to warrant its adoption as the chronological basis for Indian history between the Maurya and the Gupta periods' (JRAS. 1903. p.3). A full dress debate on the date of Kanishka in which many historians participated in 1913 is recorded in the pages of the Journal

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of the Royal Asiatic Society. Another debate on the subject was recently organised by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in which historians from many countries participated (Proceedings not yet published). Among the supporters of the second century theory for Kanishka's accession may be mentioned Vincent Smith, C. 120 A.D. (Early History of India - henceforth EHI-4th ed. p. 271; Marshall. 128 A.D. ; A.S.I. An.Rep. 1929-30. pp. 55-57); Sten Konow, A.D. 125, CII. p. lxxv. The author of the present work suggested c. A.D.144 as the date of Kanishka's accession and the beginning of his era. (IC.VIII. p. 91 ff). According to Mrs. Lohuizen-de leeuw, Kanishka ascend the throne between A.D. 71 and before A.D. 86. (The Scythian Period - An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy, and Paleography of North India from the first century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. - henceforth - the Scythian Period. p. 64). Ghirshman suggests A.D. 144 as the beginning year of Kanishka's era (Cahiers D'histoire Mondiale - Journal of World History. Vol. II. No.3, 1957. pp. 698 - henceforth - Cahiers. The views of other scholars agreeing with one or the other on the date of Kanishka's era would be quoted later on in proper context. See also Fussman. G : Contributions des Savants Francais aux Etudes Kouchanes (Kabul Kushan Centre Seminar 1982); Chroniques et Etudes Bibliographiques (Chronique des Etudes Kouchanes (1978-1987). J.A. 1987. Numero 3-4, pp. 333-400.) The contributions of Soviet scientists on the subject are recorded in a separate Bibliography at the end in London Conference Papers. pp. 394-403 ; and also in the Diushambe Conference Papers. Other important ~~Indian~~ publications include Puri. B.N. : India under the Kushanas (Bombay. 1965); Mukherji. B.N. : Studies in Kushana Genealogy and Chronology (Calcutta) ; J.M.Rosenfield : The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas ~~is an important publication by an American Art historian~~.

9. Holstein - Was there a Kushana race?: JRAS. 1914 pp. 29ff; Koshano and Yueh-chi Berichite de Berlin, 1914. p. 643. The Chinese version of the Sutralankara. IA. 1903. p.386. for discussion on the subject and problems connected with it, see Fleet, JRAS. 1914 pp. 990ff ; Sylvain Levi, ibid. pp. 1019ff ; Thomas, ibid 1915. pp. 532ff ; Sten Konow. EI. 1918 pp. 288ff. On the Nationality of the Kushanas (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft - henceforth - ZDMG. 1914. pp. 85 ff. A Meillet et Reichelt in Indogermanisches Jahrbuch 1913 ; Laufer : Language of the Yech-chi Chicago, 1917 ; J. Charpentier : Ethn-stellung der Tocharen. ZDMG 1917. pp. 347ff ; F.W.K. Muller : Tochari and Kursah - AC. Berlin, 1918 ; S. Lindquist : Zum Tochari Problem Monde Oriental, Upsala 1918 ; Grousset : L'Historie de l'Extreme Orient. I. pp. 59ff ; Louis de la V. Poussain : L'Inde Aux temps des Mauryas - henceforth - Poussain : L'Inde) - pp. 307 for consolidated references. See also our paper on 'The Nationality and Original Habitat of the Kushanas (IC. VIII. pp. 91 ff); Sten Konow also discussed the various views on the subject in his Corpus (p.1). The latest is Otto-Maenchen-Helfen who suggests

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that the Kushanas = Kusha were Saka nobles in the Yueh-Chi race, and he places their home in the Tokharian region of Chinese Turkistan (JAOS. 65. p. 71ff).

10. Quoted by Poussain, Op.cit. p. 303 on the basis of the manuscript of the Chapter on the Kushanas contributed by Thomas for the Cambridge History of India, Vol. II (still unpublished). The same views are expressed in Grousset. Op.cit. p. 58, and sources cited on that page as well as on page 60.

11. ZDMG.69. 176 and Konow SBAW. 1916. 799. Luders thought it to be an Iranian title adopted by the Turks. SBAW 1922, 260 cf. Konow A.O. III. 68.

12. Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk. p. 48 ; Konow. CII. Pl. p. 1.

13. Op.Cit. p. 176.

14. Op. Cit. p. 799 ; CII pl. According to Poussain the forms are Kozoula, Kozola in the Greek legends of his coins, and Kujula in Kharoshthi ; Kuyula-Kaphasa forms are word evidently the same as Kusulaka of Satrapa Laika of the Moga inscription (Op. Cit. p. 269). Gusura is an official title in the documents of Khotan (Op. Cit. p. 304). As regards Yavna, Yavnga (Kharoshthi), Zaoou (Greek) associated with the Kadphises, he presumes that it was a transcription of the Chinese hi-hieou, ancient pronunciation Yab-gou. The word Yap-gu, according to this French scholar, in the documents of Khotan, was perhaps a proper name. Later on among the oriental Turks, it was a title of the chiefs (Op.Cit. p. 304 - quoting Chavannes, JA, 1897, p. 49 also Konow (A.O. III. p. 66).

15. JRAS 1912 p. 670. Sylvain Levi drew attention to the statement in Hemachandra's Abhidhanachintamani 959 that the Turks are Sakhis i.e. use the royal title Sakhi, where Sakhi is evidently written for shahi, (Turushkas ti sakhyah syuh) the title used by Kanishka and his successors in Brahmi inscriptions (J.A. IX. 1897, p. note : CII Pl).

16. Stein : Serindia. p. 1361.

17. According to Tarn, number five of five Yueh-Chi princes (Yabgu, he spells it Yabghu) is not a typical Iranian number, but was a dominant number in China where it occurs with the same monotonous regularity. He suggests it (as a guess and a Turki element ; the word Yabghu is Turki (Greeks in Bactria

18. Op. Cit. p. 11.

19. A comprehensive bibliography of the Chinese sources is given by Poussain (Op. Cit. pp. 328ff) - quoted here with additions. P. de Mailla. Hist generale de la Chine t. III Richthofen ; China-, Marquart Ernshar nach der Geographie des Ps Moses Xoranaci. Abh de Gottingen (III. 2), 1901 ;

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Chavannes, translation of Seu-ma-Ts'ien's account : Toung-Pao II, VIII p. 189ff ; Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux, St. Petersbourg 1903; les pays d'occident d'apres le wei-lio, Toung-Pao 1905 ; Trois generraux chinois de la dynastic des Han, Toung-Pao 1906 ; - les pays d'occident d' apres le Heou-Han, Toung-Pao 1907 ; les documents chinois de couverts par Aurel Stein, 1913; Hirth, The Story of ChangKien, JAOS 1917; Wylie, Notes on western regions (First Han), Journal Anthrop Institute 1880-1881 ; Kingsmille : Intercourses of China with Eastern Turkestan in the Second Century B.C. JRAS. 1882 p. 82 ; De Groot : Die Hunnen der vorchrislichen Zeit, 1921 ; Die Westlande Chinas, 1926 (published by O.Franke); Franke : Beitr, aus chineischen quellan zur Kennitniss der Turkwolker and Skythen, 1904 (I.A. 1906 p.33, 47); Spcehet : Etudes sur l' Asie Centrale, JA. 1883, II pp. 324 ; Notes sur les Yue-tchi, 1890, I, 180 ; Les Indo Scythes et l'epoque de Kanishka, 1897, II p. 152 ; Levi : Notes sur les Indo-Scythese, JA. 1897, I. A.M. Boyer : Epoque de Kanishka, JA. 1900. I. p. 526. See also Haricharan Ghosh : The Date of Kaniska (IHQ. Vol.V. March 1929, pp. 49-80). The two important contributions at the London Conference on the date of Kaniska from the Chinese sources are E.G.Pulleybank (Cambridge) pp. 247-259 ; and E. Zurcher (Leiden) ibid pp. 346-390. In the words of the former, 'the Chinese evidence did not help in enabling scholars to come to any conclusion regarding the occupation of Kashgar by Kaniska. If there was any such occupation it could not have taken place before A.D. 175 (ibid. p. 410).

20. Op. Cit. p. 252.

21. Tozai-Kotsushi rouso 42-47 ; quoted from Maenchen-Helfen, Op. Cit. p. 72.

22. A propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Kuuei-chouang, Bulletin de la Maison franco-Japonaise 1933, 1-11.

23. Notes on Indo-Scythian chronology (Journal of Indian History). JIH. 1933. 13-14.

24. Tokharian et Koutchien. JA 1934-38.

25. Zur Ue-tsi-frag 257, note 7.

26. The Greeks in Bactria and India (2nd ed. p. 287, note 4). According to him, the new theory which makes of the Yueh-chi princes (the Kushana chief being one) five Saka princes of Bactria conquered by the Yueh-chi, throws the plain account in the Hou-Han-Shu overboard. The theory is one more unhappy off-shoot of the elementary blunder which started the belief in a Saka conquest of Greek Bactria (Tarn p. 283).

27. Op. cit. p. 72.

28. The view that devaputra was an imitation of the Chinese Imperial title T'ien-tzu has been refuted by F.W.Thomas

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Justification cannot be found for its Chinese origin in view of the very widespread notion of divine descent of kings and emperors. Devaputra is an Indian term, not invented by, or for, the Kushanas. It occurs in the inscription of Bharhut long prior to the Kushanas. Luder's List Nos. 774, 814 - B.C. Law Volume II p.81ff.

29. According to Maenchen-Helfen, the Kushanas spoke Saka, the language of their coin-legends in pure Khotani Saka. Sten Konow : Norske Tidskrift for Spragvidanokap 1939. 10. Halsouns objection (Zur ue-tsi frage 257, note 7) that the Kushanas might have used the Saka language as the legitimate successors of the Saka rulers in North-west India can be summarily dismissed. The Kushanas never adopted their Saka language in Bactria (Op.cit p. 73).

30. Gafurov, B.G. : Kushan Civilisation and World Culture - published in Diushambe Conference Proceedings entitled Central Asia in the Kushan Period (1974) Vol. I, p.71.

31. CII. Vol. II. Pt. I. p. Li.

32. Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur, Strasburg 1912 ; quoted by Sten Konow. ibid.

33. Memoires de la societe Linguistique, 18, 1913, pp. 89, Sten Konow. Op.cit.

34. SBAW. 1913. pp. 466 ff; 1919. pp. 734 ff ;

35. WZKM, 26. p. 395.

36. Op. cit. p. Lii. He has presumed that King Kanishka began to use Sakish in writing. Buddhist works were being translated from the Kuishan language into that of Barchuq, i.e. the present Maralbashi near Yarkand, and other translations from the same language into Tochrian and thence into Turkish. But it was not known where the Kuishan language was used. (see note - p. Lii).

37. As regards the location of the Ta-hia, according to Shi-ki (Chap. 123, fol. 6f), Ta-hia was situated more than 2000 li south-west of Ta-wan (Ferghana) and south of the Wei water (Oxus). The farmers had towns and houses and they had the same customs as the Tawan. The people had no supreme ruler, and the various towns appointed minor chiefs. The soldiers there were weak and feared warfare, but the people were skilled in trading and marketing. After the Yueh-chi conquest with the capital at Lan-shi, the five principalities, each under one hi-hou, depended on the Ta-Yueh-chi. According to the Hou-Han-Shu the Yueh-chi divided the Ta-hia empire between five hi-hou. According to Tarn, Lan-chi (Alexandria) was the capital of the Ta-hia, i.e. Bactria (Hirth p. 98) and subsequently, after they occupied Bactria, of the Yuen-chi (Hou-Han-Shu). Specf first saw that Lan-

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chi was Alexandria (JA. 1897. pp. 159-6). Groot makes it Pan-Ku's Kann-si (p. 96). Tarn questions Chhavannes and Konow. He suggested that historically, Lan-chi cannot possibly be anything but Bactria (Op.cit. p. 115 n. 1).

38. Xi. 8.4. According to Tarn, the conquest of the Ta-hia (Bactria proper) was the work of the Yueh-chi. But almost every modern writer attributes that conquest to 'Sacas' driven southward by the Yueh-chi, who are supposed to have occupied the country until the Yueh-chi expelled or subdued them. Chang-Kien knew nothing about this, and there is no scrap of evidence for its existence. A misunderstanding of a simple passage in Strabo was responsible for it, until one writer after another made it an obsession with the various forms of Saca' - Sacarau, Sae, Sai-wang, even Tochari, pressed into service. Strabo mentions Saca occupation of Bactria, but, according to Tarn, the most cursory perusal of the context shows that throughout the whole section he is talking, not of the second century B.C., but of a long time before that - he calls it Achaemenid, the seventh century (Op.cit p. 280). Apollodrous attributes the conquest of the Bactrian kingdom to four nomad peoples, Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli. Trogus attributes it only to two Asiani and Saraucae though subsequently he mentions the Tochari.

39. Strabo. XI. 8.2. According to Mrs. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, in the passage from Justinus 'Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos, there seems unanimity that the Yueh-chi are Tocharians and that the Asiani, alias Asii, are the Yueh-chi, or at least their dominating stratum. (The Scythian Period - p.38). At another place she suggests that the Asii remained also known outside their boundaries as Tochari = Tukhara (p. 43). Some scholars make a distinction between the two. Tarn thought that the name Asii was the same as Arsi (Op.cit) found by Sieg in much later 7th century documents. Van Windekens suggests that the word Arsi meaning 'white' was used to indicate the rulers of the Tochari, and subsequently the people over whom they ruled (quoted from the Scythian Period - p. 43). Some scholars identify the Asii with the Wu-sun (Charpentier Degulines and Couvreur) (Op.cit). Prof. Bailey explains arsi as Sanskrit Arya, and the Asii as a people related to the Ossetes or as in South Russia (BSOAS. VIII. 1935-37 p. 912). The passage quoted by Strabo makes it very clear that the conquest of Bactria was a historical event which was a turning point resulting in the movements of the tribes settled in or near that region and pressed by some external agencies. It, however, appears from the classical accounts that the occupation of Bactria was a transitory phase with its changing hands till we find Mithradates I occupying it and displacing its new rulers.

The identification of the Tocharians has also been a subject of discussion. The Chinese sources are enumerated by Sylvain Levi. A Chinese Sutra refers to the

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simultaneous domination of Yapono (Yavana - Greeks) in the north, the Che-Kia (Saka = Scythians) in the south, the Po-la-po (Pahlava = Parthians) in the west, and the Tein-cha-lo (Tochares) in the east. The comparison of Vibhasha and of Nanjio 1085 suggests the identification of Yueh-chi with the Tocharians (Teou-kiu-le). The Tukharas, Tochares, Chinese Touo-houo-luu in relations with the Yueh-chi and Ta-hia have been considered by scholars. Richthofen with whom Levi agrees (JA. 1897. I. p. 10) identifies the Tochares with the Yueh-chi, placing them at Khotan. According to Marquart, the Tochares are the Ta-hia living in the country which Hiuen-tsang called old Tou-hou-lo or Tokharistan in the middle Oxus, 300 kilometres to the east of Khotan. Frank suggests that they were neither the Ta-hia nor the Yueh-chi but those whom the Yueh-chi conquered in old Tou-hou-lo. Stein finds no relation between the emigration of the Yueh-chi and the old Tou-hou-lo. Truly speaking the Tochares were known to the west as early as the time of the Assyrians when the Yueh-chi were unknown. A comprehensive bibliography on the problem is given by Poussain (Op.cit. p. 338). Stein reviews the diverse opinions in his Serindia p. 287 ; for the original views see Remusat, Remarques sur l'extension de e' empire Chinois du cote de l'occident sous les Tang ; Vivian de St. Martin : Memoires sur les Huns blance, 1850 p. 233 ; Yule : Hiuen-Tsang's account of the principalities of Tokharistan, JRAS. 1873. p. 92 ; Von Richthofen : China. 1877. I. 439 ; Vascouncellos-Abreu : Museon, 1883 ; Marquart : Eransahr. p. 200 ; Frank : Turkvolker. p. 24.

40. Sten Konow. Op.cit. p. xxi.

41. ibid. p. xxii.

42. P.C.Bagchi discussed the problem of Central Asian nomads in Indian history in his Presidential address to the Ancient India Section I, Indian History Congress Session, Aligarh 1943. The references to Tukharas in ancient Indian texts - Epics, Puranas and the two Buddhist works are quoted by him. Poussain mentions the sources referring to the Tukharas earlier in his work (Op.cit. p. 337). The coupling of the two names Sakas and Tusharas in Indian Epic and Puranic texts (Mahabharata, Bombay Text II, 51, 1850 ; III. 51,1997 ; etc. ; Harivamsa I. S.20. 311) is significant. In the Markandeya Purana they are mentioned immediately after the Chinas as populous races of men outside. Pargiter has collected all the references to the Tukharas (Mahabharata Sabha. P. I. 1850) and Ramayana (Kish.K. xliv. 15). The Vayu Purana reads Tusharas (xiv . 118) as they are mentioned in the Mahabharata (Van.P. li. 1991 ; Santi P. lxv. 2429 etc.). The two names according to him, seem to mean the same people. They were an outside northern race bordering on the Himalayas (Vana P. clxxvii - 12350). In the Harivamsa they are classed along with the Sakas, Dardas, Pallavas etc. and considered to be Mlechas and Dasyus (cxv, 6440-42). Lassen identified them with the Tochari, and placed them on the north side of the Hindu Kush (Indo-Alt. map) - Pargiter : Mark Purana Trans. (p. 320).

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43. Pliny and Ptolemy mention them as Thochri and Tuchari respectively living to the north of Caspiri or Kashmir. According to Prof. Bagchi, the Ta-hia of the Han annals was pronounced in early times as D'a(t)-ga and stood in all probability for the Dogar or Tukhar which appears in the fifth century as Tu-ho-lo, T'u-ruo-la. The king of the country sent ambassadors to China.

44. CHI. I. p. 564.

45. Op.cit . p. 199.

46. ibid. p. 406.

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CHAPTER II

THE KADPHISES

The history of the Kushanas in India centres round two families, both calling themselves by this designation and yet appear to be independent of each other. It is not certain if the one succeeded the other, or some intruder filled in the gap between the two. The precedence of the Kadphises rulers over Kanishka and his successor has been finally settled by the archaeological evidence from Taxila,[1] thus negating the theory to the contrary held by Fleet and Kennedy.[2] The time factor, duration and the relations between the two families, however, demand fuller consideration. The available evidence in this context equally necessitates proper analysis. The nature of evidence needs presentation in order of reliability and credence. It is fairly evident that the Kadphises rulers - Kujula and Vima have nothing in common with Kanishka and his successors. The latter have the same ending, except for Vasudeva - an Indianised Kushana name. The Chinese sources, quoted earlier - pointing to only two Kadphises rulers, are in agreement with the testimony of the coins equally suggesting Kujula and Vima as the two Kadphises rulers. This group comprising the father and the son ruling for a fairly long period of time, was instrumental in carving out a principality flourishing as a kingdom, and later on ending as an empire including former the North-western part of India, Sind and a fairly big portion of Northern-Central India. The find-spots of coins of this group are suggestive of the extent of the empire under the Kadphises rulers. The way this empire was passed on to the succeeding Kushana group without any break or following an

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integegnum of short duration, if any, is no doubt unknown. The achievements of the first Kushana ruler Kujula Kadphises - his conquests and contacts with Hermaeus and Gondophares, the extent of his kingdom, his successor Vima Kadphises and his conquests, the appointment of Satraps, the problem of Soter Megas, and lastly the position of Jihonika or Zeionises in the political set-up, are matters of historical importance in the context of the history of the Kadphises Kushanas.

The Sources :

The names of the two rulers of the Kadphises group are provided by the Hou-Han-Shu[3] - 'History of the Later Han' 120 Chap. compiled by Fan Yeh (died A.D. 446), Ch. 118 'Account of the Western Region' mainly based upon a report to the emperor in or shortly before 125 by General Pan-Yung. The passage in the Hou-Han-Shu furnishes relevant information relating to the integration of the five hi-hou or Yabgu, a hundred years after the division of the Yueh-Chih. More than a hundred years later (after the division), the Yabgu of Kuei-Shuang (named) Chiu Chiu-Chueh (Kujula Kadphises) attacked and destroyed the (other) four yabgu and established himself as their king. The kingdom was named Kuei-Shuang. Next the conquests of this king are described. He invaded An-Si and seized the territory of Kao-Fu and more over destroyed Pu-ta and Chi-pin and completely possessed their territory. Chiu-Chiu-Chueh (Kujula Kadphises) died at the age of more than eighty years and his son Yen-Kao-Chen (Vima Kadphises) succeeded him as king. He in turn destroyed Tien-Chu (India) and placed there a general to control it. As the Hou-Han-Shu deals with the events happening in and around

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the period Kien-Wu (A.D. 25-55), Kujula Kadphises' conquests could not have taken place before the year A.D. 25.

The epigraphic evidence relating to this family of the Kushanas is at a moment confined to three dated records, in the old era. The first one,[4] dated in the year 103 of this era a also in the year 26 - being the requal one of Maharaja Guduvhara (Gondopheres) on the first day of the month of Varsakha, records the pious gift of Mira, the saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Prince Erjhuna Kapsha, as also of the donors mother and father. This prince Kapsha is identified with Kujula Kadphises who was at that time associated with the ruling family of Gondopheres. While the ethnic relation between the two is doubtful, the Kushan Kujula's relation with the Indo Parthian rule r calls for consideration. This could be done slightly later on in historical perspective.

The second inscription[5] related to the Kushans and dated in the old era, is from Panjtar (Matraban-range). It is of the year 122 in the reign of the Gushana Great king (Maha-rayasa Gushanasa) and records the planting of two trees in the eastern region of Ka-sua - an auspicious ground by Moika, the Urumuja scion. The third inscription[6] from Taxila on a silver scroll is dated in the year 136 of the same era. It records dedication on the 15th day of first month Ashadha. The relics of the Lord were established by Ursaka of the Imtavhria boys, the Bactrian, residing in the town of Noacha. This was done for the bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the son of Heaven, the Kushana. (Maharayasarajatirajasa deva-putrasa Khushanasa).

These two records do not mention the name of the Kushana

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ruler. Since these are dated in the old era and not in the requal one started by Kaniska, it can be rightly presumed that the reference is to the Kadphises family of the Kushanas. Between the two - Kujula and his son Vima - the claim of the former appears to be strong. The course of career traced in the three records - as a prince, as a ruler and as a great emperor - naturally points to Kujula. Further, if the identification of Uvima Kavathisa of the Khalaste record of 184 or 187 be made with Vima Kadphises, as is very likely, it would point to a long reign of nearly half a century for the second Kadphises ruler. This is rather improbable since Kujula the father lived upto the age of 80. He was not likely to leave a successor young enough to rule for such a long period of time. On the basis of these three records, Kujula's relations with the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondopheres as also his conquests resulting in the assumption of high sounding title might be recorded.

In this context reference might as well be made to a new Kharoshti inscription of Senavarman,[7] king of Odi, edited by Harold Bailey and published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1980). The inscription being in private possession, its find-spot is unknown. It is dated in the year 14 of the Lord (Isvara) Senavarman's year on the 8th day of the month of Sravana. It records the establishment of corporeal relics of the Buddha in a newly rebuilt stupa by Senavarman, king of Odi - supposed to be older Uddiyana by Bailey, modern Swat. This ruler pays homage to the son of the great king, king of kings, Kujula Kataphsha, i.e. Sadashkana, the son of god (devaputra). The record thus suggests that

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the Odi king was subordinate to the Kushan emperor Kujula Kadphises. His son Sadashama by name acted as a kind of political agent keeping a watch over the Odi Raja. The identify of Sadashama with Vima Kadphises can not be ascertained. His name does not figure in any other source. The date of the record seems to be the regnal year of this local ruler since it cannot fit in with any other era.

The Date of Kujula Kadphises and the Old Saka Era :

Accepting the sequence of events, as provided by the three dated inscriptions noticed above, the date of Kujula Kadphises might be settled on the basis of the fixation of the initial year of the old Saka era,[8] as it is called. Scholars in the past did grapple with this problem and sought its solution on the basis of astronomical calculations[9] - intercalary Sravana in the year 134 (Ajasa Srivanasa) and intercalary Ashadha (Ayasa ashadasa) in the year 136, as recorded in the Kalwan and Taxila Silver scroll inscriptions respectively. Sten Konow proposed on the basis of the calculation done by Van Wijk that the initial year of the old era was 84-83 B.C. Sten Konow kept on revising his views, thus providing inconsistency to any such calculated results. Marshall, on the other hand, contended that the era was associated with Azes, taking Ayasa & Ajasa as the genitive singular of the name of this ruler. R.D.Banerji,[10] however, considered it to be Aryasa or auspicious. The era no doubt appears to be associated with some event of national importance. It is interesting to find that out of 23 Kharoshti records bearing dates and considered by Sten Konow,[11] only the Taxila copper plate inscription of

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Patika is dated in the Greek calendar month Panemos. The rest are all dated in Indian months without reference to the bright (sulka) or the dark (krishna) half, and calculated from the full moon day.

As regards the beginning of this era, it is proposed by Van Lohnizen-de-Leevw [12] that its commencement marked the Yueh-Chih conquest of Bactria in about 129 B.C. The use of the Indian months in practically all the records seem to rule out its association with the Yueh-Chih and their conquest. Further, except for the reference to the Kushanas, as such in two records, and probably to Vima Kadphises in the Khalatse one, these were not associated with the Kushanas or the Yueh-Chih. It is now generally accepted that this Saka era be equated with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. Marshall and Rapson however believed it to be the era of Azes. This reckoning would provide dates ranging from A.D. 45-78 for Kujula Kadphises, beginning with the prince Erjhunakapa (Taxila 103, to Great King, king of kings Khushana (Taxila 136). These dates as well fit in well with the Chinese sources relating to this ruler, as also with the archaeological finds provided by the evidence from Taxila excavations. As noticed earlier, according to the annals of the Second Han dynasty (Hou-Han-Shu), the events recorded covered the period in and after Kien-Wu. (AD. 25-55).

The reference to Kapsha, evidently accepted as Kujula Kadphises, in the Taxila copper plate inscription of the year 103, and also 26 of Guduvhara (Gondopheres) [13] fits in this scheme of Kushana chronology as also in the dating of Kujula's career. According to this scheme, Kujula Kadphises was only a prince or Kumara, if Konow's etymology of <u>erjhuna alysanai</u>, later <u>oysanai</u>

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i.e. alzanai ezanai used in the old Saka language of the Khotan country, rendering it into Sanskrit Kumara, is accepted. The subsequent reference as king Khushana - Ghushana in the Panjtar record[14] nineteen years' later points to his conquest and consolidation of the kingdom carved out by him at the expense of the Indo-Parthians and the last remnants of Indo-Greeks. The last reference to him in the Taxila inscription of the year 136 according him higher appellations - Maharaja-rajatiraja devaputra[15] point to a fairly extensive area of his empire which included West Punjab, Kashmir, Bactria & Eastern Afghanistan. The conquests of this first Kadphises ruler are recorded in the annals of the later Han dynasty - the Hou-Han-Shu and are confirmed by the finds of his coins, besides the location of the two inscriptions. In the words of the Annals after reducing the other hi-hou a yabgus, Kujula is stated to have invaded Ansi - the usual name of Parthia. This was followed by seizing the territory of Kao-Fu and the triumphant march over Pu-ta and Ki-pin which kingdoms came under his possession.[16] An-si, according to Sten-Konow, implied the Parthian dynasty in the east to which Guduvhara or Gondopheres belonged. Gondopheres was not the last Parthian ruler. Coins of Abdagases, called Guduvhara-bhrata-putra maharajasa (tradarasa) Avadagasasa[17] on the reverse have been found in western Punjab. Another coin of this Indo-Parthian ruler Pacores bears the epithet Maharajasa Rajatirajasa.[18] Further, his coins were found at Kandahar and the country to the west of Bhakar.[19] Moreover, the coins of Pacores and Vima Kadphises were found in an earthern jar at Sirkap by Marshall. Here some coins with the portrait and symbols of Guduvhara with Greek and Kharoshti legends were also found.[20] These might have been issued by Governores. It

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was proposed by Rapson that even in the reign of Gondopheres, the allegiance of the Governores to the suzerain was becoming merely nominal. The existence of any independent Parthian suzerain in North-western India after Guduvhara is not borne out by the finds of these coins. Philostratos in his account of Apollonius of Tyana in about A.D. 44, mentions Phraotes as the ruler of Taxila at that time. He is identified by Herzfeld with Gondopheres on the basis of the similarity of the name with the title apratihata.[21]

These facts suggest that Kujula Kadphises gave a blow to the Parthian empire of Gondopheres and occupied the Kabul (Ka-Fu) region where the coins of Pacores or Abdagases have not been found. This must have happened between A.D. 45 and A.D. 64, the dates of the Takht-i-Bahi and Panjtar records respectively. The hoard found by Marshall in the remains of Sirkap (Taxila) contained coins of Gondopheres, Pacores and Kujula Kadphises. These suggest that Kujula Kadphises had taken Taxila from the weak successors of Pacores. This was accomplished before A.D.78, the corresponding English calendar date of the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 of the time of Maharaja-Rajatiraja Devaputra Kushana. The political relations between Kujula Kadphises and the Indo -Parthians from the time of Gondophares onwards appear to have been planned in a diplomatic fashion - first friendly and then hostile. The reference to Kapa, identified with Kujula as a prince in an inscription of the time of Gondopheres could not be insignificant. The Kadphises prince then was only marking time. He first conquered the western portion of the Indo-Parthian empire of the Parthians and after some years the eastern one too, eliminating the Parthian hold

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over North-west India and Punjab. The second phase of his conquest seems to be recorded in the Hou-Han-Shu - the Chinese Annals of the Later Han Dynasty. His triumph over Pu-ta and Ki-pin points to his conquest of Taxila and the adjoining region to the east of the Indus and probably the north-eastern portion. According to Tarn,[22] the Chinese Ki-pin included Kapisa and Kashmir and much else.

Kujula Kadphises and Hermaeus :

Since the two rulers are associated together on a series of coins,[23] their relations have been assessed by scholars in different ways. There have been earlier instances of joint issues, and it was therefore proposed by Rapson[24] that Hermaeus was the earlier ruler. His name along with the bust appears on the obverse in Greek, and that of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushana Yavuga in kharosthi on the reverse. The latter was the immediate successor of the former. In another type while the bust of Hermaeus appears on the obverse, the Greek legend Koshano Kozolo Kaphises replaces the name of Hermaeus with his regal title Basileos. The legend in Kharosthi on the reverse, however, continues to record his name with the appellations Kushana Yauvgasa dhranathidasa - the Kushana chief - the steadfast in true law. F.W.Thomas, on the other hand, proposed[25] that there was a gap between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises, and during this period the Pahlavas or Parthians were in possession of Kabul. This view was accepted by Rapson,[26] as also by Marshall,[27] Konow,[28] and Tarn.[29] The last historian, however, suggested[30] that Kujula Kadphises was a descendant of the Kushana Yavuga Miaos (or Heraos - the name being uncertain) who called himself 'Kushan' on his

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coinage. He had married a relative, probably a sister of Hermaeus. When he invaded the Paropamisade (Kabul), he proclaimed to the Greeks that he came, not as a foreign conqueror, but as their lawful ruler by hereditary relationship to the last king Hermaeus. The coins were therefore the dry-bones of that propaganda to conciliate the Greeks, still a formidable force in Kabul.[31]

The earlier theory of Rapson presuming an immediate relationship between Hermaeus and Kujula was endorsed by Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw.[32] She as well pushed back Kujula Kadphises in the first century B.C. It has, however, been suggested earlier that Kujula Kadphises conquered Kabul (Kao-fu) from the Parthians and not from the Greeks. The relationship between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises does not seem to be of blood as presumed by Tarn. Bachhofer presumed[33] that Hermaeus continued to rule in the second decade of the first century A.D. He rejected his identification with Yen-mo-Fu of the Chinese Chien-Han-Shu, and the evidence it afforded of his coming to the throne before 48 B.C. According to his chronological setting, he crowds in the second decade not only Vonoes, Spalahores, and Spalagadames, but also Spalirises and Azes II, as well as part of the reign of Hermaeus to which list Marshall also adds by implication Azilises, the immediate predecessor of Azes II.[34]

Kujula Kadphises and the Western World :

The conquest of Parthia (An-Si) and Kabul (Kao-Fu) naturally brought this Kushana ruler in close contact with the Romans and the Western world. This is evident from his borrowing the bust of the Roman emperor on a well-known coin.[35] As he depicts the bust of Hermaeus with the legend in Greek on a set of his coins, which might be due to his closeness to the Indo-

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Greek ruler in point of time, the Roman bust imitation is suggestive of the Kushan's relation with the western world. The identity of the Roman emperor whose bust was imitated is a subject of controversy among some scholars. It is generally accepted that that type was borrowed from a coin of Augustus.[36] Allan, taking the evidence on the reverse, reproducing the well-known Roman deity curule chair type suggested that Kujula imitated a coin of Claudius[37] (accession A.D. 41). Basham however contended[38] that Kujula's moneyers incorporated elements from more than one type. The coins of this first Kushana ruler certainly bear a close resemblance to some of the denarii of Augustus, while coins of Claudius are the earliest closely resembling those of Kujula's coins both on the obverse and also on the reverse. The closeness and resemblance between certain type of Kujula Kadphises and Roman coins of Claudius and Augustus was due to commercial considerations, for facilitating trade between the two countries. Roman coins were the legal tender of merchants from the West. This factor accounted for the imitation of the gold standard of Augustus by Vima Kadphises.[39]

The curule chair was no doubt copied from the West. Its occurance on the coins of Kujula as a figure seated in a similarly unorthodox Indian fashion could be traced to a group of copper coins of Azes II. It was proposed by Macdowall[40] that the chair might well have been a gift by the Romans to a diplomatic mission from N.W.India. These coins of Kujula, however, resemble their Roman prototypes in more ways than their characteristically Augustus head. They have the same general format and size, and approximately the same weight as the Roman silver denarius. This might be rather important, according to Macdowall, for the Kushan

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copper coins were, in fact, the successors of a collapsed silver denomination. The metrological evidence, however, affords no conclusive argument for the date of Kanishka. It nevertheless suggests that the Augustan head may possibly have been copied by Kujula.

Kujula Kara Kadphises :

The Chinese annals of the later Han dynasty accord long life to Kujula Kadphises. He is reported to have lived up to the ripe old age of 80 and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-Chen, identified with Vima Kadphises. There is no intermediary between the father and the son. Some suspicion seems to have arisen in this context with the discovery of a new type of coin by Marshall,[41] with the bust of a king resembling Vima Kadphises and a corrupt Greek legend on the obverse. The reverse shows a Nike and the Kharoshti legend Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Khushanasa Yavugasa. Another group of coins[42] have on the obverse a humped bull and an illegible Greek legend on the obverse. On the reverse there is a two-humped camel with a Kharoshti legend of slightly varying wording : maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphasa; maharajasa mahatasa Kushans Kuyula Kaphasa, maharajasa rajaravasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphasasa.[43] The names Kuyula Kaphasa and Kuyula Kara Kapasa in the same type of coins[44] created doubt among scholars, about their identity or otherwise.[49]

Rapson considered them to be different and Kujula Kara Kadphises (Kuyula Kara etc) probably succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalavati. He might be a contemporary of Vima Kadphises.[45] According to Marshall,[46] these coins were issued by Vima Kadphises. He interpreted Kara as the equivalent of Kala

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which was used later on in Turkestan with the meaning 'prince'. The coins with the humped bull of Siva on the obverse and a Bactrian camel on the reverse with the legend Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphasa and other variants were probably issued by Vima Kadphises as crown-prince during his father's life time. Sten-Konow, on the other hand presumes[47] that the use of the imperial titles precludes the idea of the issuer being a subordinate ruler. The additional Kara of which the meaning itself is not very clear cannot prevent us from ascribing these coins to Kujula Kadphises I. A Sirkap coin of Kadphises I, showing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse, has the Kharoshti legend ... jata kara dharmathi,[48] and this can be none other than Kujula Kadphises. Sometimes this word 'Kara' is missing on the coins in question.[49] It might be possible to agree with Marshall that Kujula Kadphises retired from active campaigning when he was probably between sixty and seventy years of age. He therefore left the active part in military adventures to his son, after A.D. 60. It is possible that Kujula Kadphises' active career of conquest closed sometime about A.D. 64 (Panjtar record). Konow proposed that with the conquest of Taxila, the Saka empire in North-Western India had been restored. But the old Saka country in the Indus valley was still under Pahlava rule. The old king did not lead his army to Sind.[50] It is, thus, not proper to associate a particular set of coins with Vima Kadphises, simply on the basis of the additional word Kara of which the meaning is not clear. The Chinese annals are emphatic only on two Kadphises rulers, and there cannot be an additional one with the name or title of 'Kara'. It may, therefore, be suggested that Kujula Kadphises and Kujula Kara Kadphises are identical. Since the

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Chinese annals record only two Kadphises rulers, the succession of Vima Kadphises was a smooth one.

Vima Kadphises :

The second Kushana ruler succeeding his octogenarian father is reported, according to the Hou-Han-Shu,[51] to conquer India again and appointed there a general or a vice-roy to administor it. According to Sten Konow,[52] India was simply reconquered by Vima as suggested by the word 'again', a view. Von Lohuizen-de Leeuw presumed[53] on the basis of the discovery of a hoard of coins at Sirkap - consisting of coins of Gondophares, Pacores, Pukha and Kujula Kadphises that the Indian conquests of Kujula east of the Indus were lost and later reconquered by Vima Kadphises. The conquest implied in the Chinese account and attributed to Vima Kadphises, seems to be a further expansion of of his father's empire and not a reconquest of the lost territory in the north-west of which there is no evidence. The description of the country given in the Hou-Han-Shu seems to point to the Indus country. The kingdom of Tien-Chi also called Shen-tu refers to Sindh,[54] the ancient strong-hold of the Saka empire in Indus. The reconquest of the Indus region, if the translation is literally taken, might be suggestive of the second Saka conquest, noticed in the Kalakacharya Kathanaka.[55] According to this account, the Sakas of the Indus conquered Surashtra and Malava shortly before the beginning of the Vikrama era; they were subsequently ousted from their new territories by Vikramaditya, but after a lapse of 135 years a new Saka ruler came and re-established the Saka dominion. This could mean that the era of A.D. 78 could be associated with Vima Kadphises, if there be no overlapping of dates,

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and the relationship between the second Kadphises ruler and the Saka Kshatrapas of Western India be traced. It might as well be pointed out, once again, that the term 'Saka' has been used rather in a laxy manner. As proposed earlier, the Kushanas might have been the descendants of one of the Sakas mentioned by Herodotus.

Vima Kadphises and his accession :

Unfortunately not a single record of Vima Kadphises has been found.[56] Some scholars, however, attribute the Taxila inscription of the year 136 to him ;[57] on the other hand Sten Konow presumes that the Khalatse inscription dated in the year 187 of Maharaja Uvima Kavthisa refers to Vima Kadphises. If both the propositions are accepted then the second Kadphises ruler began his reign in 136 and ruled for a period of at least 51 years which is not improbable though as the successor of an octogenarian father could be a remote possibility.[58] Rapson on the other hand questioned the reading of this record and considered it conjectural affording a very insecure foundation for the far-reaching conclusions of Sten Konow. Further, it was unlikely that any record of Vima Kadphises should be found far away at Khalatse, a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh on the trade route. The year 136 of the old era, corresponding to A.D. 78 had its special importance as the initial year of the Saka era, probably founded by Vima Kadphises. Many scholars, however, credit Kanishka to be its founder and as such club Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises between 122 and 136 of the old era, viz. within a period of 14 years only. This calculation is based on the assumption that Kujula having died at the age of eighty, could not have left a young successor, but a fairly aged one whose reign was not expected

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to last long. He was succeeded by Kanishka in A.D. 78. In this context reference might be made once again to the Hou-Han-Shu annals covering the period only between A.D. 25 and 125. These provide intimate knowledge of the events - men and matters - of the time - covering the reigns of Kujula Kadphises and his son Vima Kadphises, but contain no reference to the more famous Kanishka.[59] The number of years given to Vima Kadphises seems too little, if Kanishka succeeded him in A.D. 78, in view of his extensive conquests, and for the abundant and widespread coinage of Soter Megas, as Marshall pointed out.[60] The abundance of the coins of Vima Kadphises and those of Kujula's own coinage in use for many years after the conquest of Punjab suggest a fairly long duration of the reigns of the two Kadphises rulers.

Vima Kadphises and the Saka Kshatraps :

The relations between this Kadphises ruler, and the family of Mahapana and Chashtana whose records are dated in the Saka era can be ascertained from the accounts provided by the Hou-Han-Shu and the Kalakacharya kathanaka , as also from the records of these two Kshatrapa families. It has been proposed earlier that the reference to Yen-Kao-Chen (Vima Kadphises) conquest of Tien-Chi or Shen-tu was really that of Sindh in India. This could be the second Saka conquest recorded in the Kalakacharya Kathanaka and the event synchronised with the founding of the Saka era. This claim of Vima is contested by some scholars on the ground that if Vima was associated with the Saka era as its founder, then the earlier Kushana inscriptions, particularly those of Taxila of 136, and of Khalatse of 187 should have been dated in the Saka era. In this context it may be suggested that the Taxila

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record[61] appears to be associated with Kujula in logical sequence, and the reading of the latter one itself is considered doubtful. Further, it is not necessary that an official private record should be dated in the era of the ruler. The Mandsor inscription[62] of the time of Kumaragupta I is dated in the Vikrama Samvat and not in the Gupta era. So even if it is presumed that the Kushana ruler of the Taxila record was Vima and not his father Kujula, the non-use of the Saka era cannot vitiate his claim as the founder of the Saka era.

Now the inscriptions from Western India refer to the two Saka families of Nahapana and Chashtana. The last of the Saka ruler of the second line named Rudrasimha lost to the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II in A.D. 388 since his coins are dated in the Saka year 310.[63] The other Saka dynasty of Western India had Nahapana and his son-in-law Ushavadata who calls himself a Saka[64] and uses this era in his inscriptions and also on his coins. The use of the era by these Kshatrapas could only be that of their overlord to whom they owed allegiance as also promotion as maha-kshatrapa. Chashtana has no dated record of his time and so also his coins are undated. The coins portray him first as a Kshatrapa and later on as a Maha-Kshatrapa.[65] His son Jaya daman was only a Kshatrapa[66] and seems to have predeceased him. Chashtana is later on associated with his grandson Rudradaman. The Andhau records of 52 and the Junagarh inscription[67] dated in the Saka year 72 = A.D. 150 shed light on the political history of South-West India of that time. Rudradaman who conjointly ruled wi with his grandfather Chashtana, boasts of his extensive conquests in the Junagarh record is mentioned as a Maha-Kshatrapa on his coins and in this incription. He had attained this position him-

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self (svayamadhigata maha-kshatrapa namna). Like Chashtana, Nahapana too was at a first a Kshatrapa till the year 45 and then a Maha-Kshatrapa in the year 46 of the Saka era. The assumption of the higher title in due course could be the result of promotion by the overlord, or the assertion of independence by the serving vassal. The name of the overlord does not figure in both the cases.

D.R.Bhandarkar in his paper entitled 'Deccan of the Satavahana period'[68] laid emphasis on the political significance of the two words Kusanamula and Suvarna. He considered Kusana to signify the family of the Kushana the overlords of the Kshatrapas. It was as well the name given to the silver coinage of Nahapana, issued under the order of the overlord ruler ; probably the Kushana ruler Vima Kadphises. It is also mentioned in the record that 35 Karshapanas or the silver coins were equivalent to a suvarna or gold coin which was introduced for the first time by Vima Kadphises.[69] The specification of the ratio between gold and silver coins of the time is possible only when both are in current use in that area or territory. Bhandarkar as well refers to Ushavadata, son-in-law of Nahapana, going to conquer the Malavas at the command of the overlord (Bhattaraka).[70] This word could not have been used as an epithet for Nahapana who is mentioned in that record as a Kshatrapa. The reference, therefore, could only be to the overlord of Nahapana.

As regards the position of Chashtana, according to Bhagwan Lal Inderji,[71] he was a contemporary though not a subordinate of Nahapana. Fleet, however, assumed[72] that he was Nahapana's cogent or vice-roy at Ujjain,[73] just as Bhumaka was in Kathiawar. Oldenburg and Burgress[74] regarded Chashtana as the Kshatrapa of Gautami-putra

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Satkarni. As regards Inderji's theory, no explanation is needed since he has said nothing about the relations between the two. Fleet's theory is far from being satisfactory. It is improbable that the co-regent or the viceroy of a certain suzerain should as well use the titles of his overlord. Both Nahapana and Chashtana were Kshatrapas first and were conferred or assumed the higher appellation Mahakshatrapa afterwards. With the use of the same set of titles by both it is difficult to suggest if Chashtana was the ove rlord of Nahapana or vice-versa. As regards the third theory of Oldenburg and Burgress the legends on Chashtana's coins - in Greek and Kharoshti, point to the region of his overlord in the North-west where these scripts were in use.[75] Rapson[76] and Smith have, however, hinted that he was a kshatrapa of some Kushana king without mentioning his name.

The relation between Chashtana and Nahapana vis-a-vis their Kushana overlord, probably Vima Kadphises, might be traced to their predecessors. Nahapana's father Bhumaka uses the titles Kshaharata Kshatrapa[77] while Nahapana has the appellations Rajan Kshatrapa on his coins, Rajan Kshaharata Kshatrapa in his inscription of the year 42, and Rajan Mahakshatrapa Svami in the record of the year 46.[78] Nahapana's position therefore appears to be little more independent than that of Bhumaka who was the earliest known member of that family. Chashtana, on the other hand, is mentioned as the son of Ysamotika, the name derived from the Saka word Ysama meaning 'earth'.[79] Sten Konow, agreeing with Sylvain Levi, identified Ysamotika with Bhumaka. It is presumed tha t Ysamotika = Bhumaka was the first Kshatrapa of Weste-rn India, appointed after Vima Kadphises' reconquest. It might be

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difficult to agree with Levi and Konow regarding the identity of Ysamotika and Bhumaka because the inscription of Balasri[80] refers to Saka-Yavana and Pahlava and the Kshaharata as four separate political units. It, however, seems likely that both Chashtana and Nahapana were owing allegiance to some Kushana monarch who was very probably Vima Kadphises.[81]

Another point demanding clarification relates to the long length of Vima's career as the Viceroy on behalf of his father, a reconquest and the king. If Nahapana and Chashtana whose records are dated in the years 42, 44 and 46; and 52 respectively, were feudatories of Vima Kadphises, then could it be presumed that the initial year of the era of these records dates back to the Kushana conquest of Shen-tien or Sindh under this ruler ? Now, even if Kujula Kadphises died at the age of 80, it is not improbable for him to leave a son and successor in mid-thirties who could have ruled for a period of 40 years or even a little more. The control of the overlord seems to be waning with the aging of the Kushana ruler, and this fact accounted for the feudatories to assume the title of Rajan besides that of Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa. The Kushana hold seems to have ended after sometime, enabling Rudradaman to take the title of Mahakshatrapa himself, besides calling himself Rajan. It is likely that Vima Kadphises had conquered India - the North-West portion in the time of his father Kujula and the conquest of Sindh followed later on. The father of Nahapana and Chashtana, Bhumaka and Ysamotika respectively, were his Kshatrapas and owed allegiance to him. The Kushana hold over Sindh seems to have lasted for quite some time in the reign of Vima Kadphises. It was temporarily lost due to the conquests of Rudradaman which included Sindhu and

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Sauvira as described in the Junagarh inscription. Kanishka I in turn conquered Sindh, as is evident from the Suivihar (Bahawalpur district) inscription dated in the year 11 of the time of Kanishka. This was probably during the time of the weak successor of Rudradaman.

Vima Kadphises and Soter Megas :

Vima Kadphises seems to have ruled for a fairly long time. Scholars who consider Kanishka to be the founder of the Saka era try to place him between A.D. 64 and 78. It may, however, be proposed that Vima commenced his reign as a full-fledged ruler from A.D. 78 and was the founder of the Saka era. He might have continued to rule till about A.D. 125, a period of more than forty-five years, with Nahapana and Chashtana as his deputies in South-Western India, and Soter Megas in the same capacity in the North. These deputies probably enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy and as well issued coins in their names. The extension of Vima Kadphises' empire in Northern India could be determined on the basis of the finds of his coins as far as Basarh, Bhita and Kasia.[82] The seated image of a Kushana emperor (Kushanaputra) called Vamatakshama at Mathura was supposed by Jayaswal[83] to be that of Vima Kadphises. He assumed that Kushana was the personal name of Kujula Kadphises, father of Vima. This might not be accepted as 'Kushanputra' could as well mean the 'family' or the 'descendant of the Kushana'. The extension of Kushana empire under Vima Kadphises as far as Mathura and even beyond in the east need not be questioned. His coins have been found as far as Vaisali in Bihar. It is likely that Vima Kadphises' deputy for the northern area of his empire was Soter Megas.[84] His coins were found extensively in the Punjab,

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in the Kandahar and Kabul regions and as far as Mathura in the east.[85] According to Rapson,[86] these coins show a symbol of the kind which is characteristic of Vima Kadphises and it could hardly be doubted that they were related to him in point of time. Whitehead[87] also drew attention to the fact that these coins were found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of territory from Peshawar to Mathura, thus pointing to a longer reign and greater strength. The style of the coins, in copper only,[88] and the absence of the square form, according to Whitehead, point to a period near about the Kushana, making Soter Megas the contemporary of one of the two Kadphises rulers. It is further suggested by him that these coins were struck by more than one ruler, and the different types represent different locations though such rulers might have been subordinate to a single sovereign.

Sten Konow endorsed[89] the suggestions of Whitehead. He as well agreed with Cunningham in taking the letter vi on some coins as connoting the initial letter of the suzerain's name, namely Vima Kadphises. According to Marshall,[90] the coins with the letter vi represented the issues made during Vima's reign. Otherwise the Soter Megas coins covered both the reigns of Vima Kadphises and the interval between him and Kanishka, or part of it. 'After the death of Vima Kadphises, there are indications to show', in the words of Sten Konow, 'that a disintegration of the Kushana empire began to set in, similar to what took place after the demise of Moga'.

The relations between this second Kadphises ruler and the nameless one is unmistakably assumed by scholars[91] on the basis of the close association of their coins and the strata in which these were found in excavations. Common peculiarities

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noticed in both sets of coins are the use of the same title in Greek on the obverse, a circular margin composed of reels and pellets in place of the usual legends. The holding of a club before the face, and the use of the peculiar form of Gandharian letter ja with a small stroke to the right at the foot of its starting vertical stroke. In this context, two unique coins deserve attention here. Of these one is a single specimen of copper without legends, but bears the symbol of Vima Kadphises together with a symbol which is probably that of Soter Megas. It is in poor condition with three prongs instead of the usual four as on Vima's coins. In another unique specimen noticed by Cunningham,[92] two heads appear on a single bust with the respective symbol of Vima Kadphises and the nameless king. It is, therefore, certain that both must have been contemporaries, and were related to each other in some way, either as the overlord and the deputy, or as the conqueror and the vanquished, but the latter one was associated with the former as his vassal or deputy.

On the other hand, some scholars have tried to identify Soter Megas with Kujula Kadphises or Kanishka. B. Stavisky in his study of Kushan Central Asia, contributed to the London Conference on the date of Kanishka, refers[93] to the contribution of M.E. Masson, who tried to unravel the mystery of the nameless king Soter Megas. He provides a detailed description of the coins of Soter Megas, named by his full title 'king of kings', great saviour. Taking into consideration some epigraphic aspects, Masson refers these coins to the period from the thirties or forties to the seventies or eighties of the first century A.D. The royal title, according to Masson, prevents us from regarding these coins as belonging to the satraps, military chiefs and viceroys. Their

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composition, typological peculiarities, epigraphy, tamga, titles and distribution give grounds for the belief that they could have been struck by some Kushan king. Masson identified Soter Megas with Kujula Kadphises. These conclusions of Masson have been rebutted by Ghirshman who, in turn, has been disproved by R.Gobl. D.D.Kosambi[94], however, equated Soter Megas with Kanishka I. According to him, Soter Megas was certainly not the name of the king who must nevertheless have had some personal name. The Soter Megas coins seem far too numerous for a mere Satrap or strategos, while the explanation that they were struck by a whole succession of anonymous strategoi is ridiculous. The king in question took it for granted that everybody knew who he was.

R.Gobl in his paper on Numismatic Evidence has suggested[95] that 'numismatic evidence does not support the opinion that the Soter Megas was either (in spite of the parallel of this title with that of Vima Kadphises) Kanishka himself or generally belonged to the reigning family of the Kushana'. In this context he refers to the horizontal upper hasta of the symbol bearing four strokes set vertically on Kushana coins. Soter Megas coins show only three. His symbol moreover ends in a circle, a form which is not found on those of the Great Kushans. This shows that very likely the owner of this symbol is in status below the members of the royal family.

Besides Soter Megas whose identity need be established, another such instance is that of the 'Maharaja and the Rajatiraja' of the two Brahmi inscriptions from Mathura dated in the years 270 and 292 or 299. Their find spots were, however, different - the former at Girdharpur and the latter at the Kankali Tila. According to Luders,[96] these records were dated in the Parthian

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era of 248-47 B.C., corresponding to A.D. 23 and 45 or 52. He presumed that there were Parthians at Mathura who had immigrated there during the rule of the Kshatrapas. Despite their adherence to the Jain faith, they were upholding the traditions of their country. This nameless ruler of the two Mathura records seems to precede Vima Kadphises in point of time, while Soter Megas might have outlived Vima, as his coins suggest. It would therefore be difficult to identify the nameless ruler of the Mathura records with the nameless Soter Megas of the coins. It is quite likely that the latter might have been the son and successor of the former, following the family tradition of remaining incognito, and equally owing allegiance to the Kushanas. Soter Megas enjoyed autonomy of issuing coins in his name, following the pattern and style of his overlord with the initial letter vi, symbolising the suzerainty of his overlord Vima Kadphises. This lasted till the death of the Kushana overlord when he attained complete independence. That accounts for the absence of this letter in other series of coins of this ruler. It appears equally likely that Vima's death was followed by the assumption of independence by Kushana governors and feudal lords. This state of affairs lasted for some time before Kanishka assumed power and attained hold over the different parts of the Kushana empire.

Vima Kadphises and his relations with China and Rome :

The Kushana empire under Vima Kadphises seems to have extended from Varanasi in the east, to the frontiers of Parthia, and included, according to Smith, the whole of the countries now known as Afghanistan, Turkestan, Bukhara and parts of Russian Turkestan. In fact his empire lay between the two other great empires of the time, the Chinese and the Roman. It was, there-

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fore, natural for the Kushanas to have political and commercial contacts with both the countries. A brisk trade in silk, spices, gems and other articles was carried on by Indian traders, as well as those of other nationalities. In fact, Pliny refers to the flourishing trade between India and the Roman world in the first century A.D. He as well deplores the financial drain involved in his country due to the import of items of luxuries. Roman gold coins were found in association with those of the Kushanas and of their predecessor Azilises at Taxila Stupa No.IV, Manikyala, Court Tope and at Jalalabad, Ahin Post Tope.[98] Macdowall in his paper on 'Numismatic evidence for the date of Kanishka' has recorded these coins for purposes of establishing influence on Kushana coins, and their significance for the chronology of Kushana rulers. Vima Kadphises was the first Kushana ruler to introduce gold coins, evidently for trade facilities, and adopted the Roman weight standard <u>aurei</u> of 124 grams.[99] On the political level there were also contacts.[100] According to Dion Cassius, many embassies came to Augustus and the Indians having previously proclaimed a treaty of alliance, concluded it then with the presentation, among other gifts, of tigers and other animals which the Romans saw for the first time. Florus who wrote in the days of Trojan (A.D. 98-117) refers to the arrival in Rome of a great many embassies, and especially from the Indians.[101] The political relations were increased by the commercial ones.[102]

The second Kadphises ruler, however, did not have smooth relations with China. General Pan-Chao's victorious march in Central Asia and Vima Kadphises' success in Northern India seem to have inflated their ego and augmented their aspirations, thus providing ground for a clash between the two powerful. General

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Pan-Chao of China had led an army from victory to victory. According to Douglas,[103] the Chinese flag was carried to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The king of Khotan submitted in A.D. 73 followed by several other princes, opening the southern edge of the desert to arms and commerce of China. The northern road was thrown open with the reduction of Kucha and Karashahr. The changed political situation in Central Asia was naturally a cause for alarm to the Kadphises ruler. His demand for the hand of a Chinese princess and its refusal by the General followed by the arrest of the envoy carrying the proposal, finally resulted in the trial of strength. The show down proved abortive for Vima Kadphises. The Kushana army, a formidable force of 70,000 cavalry despatched under the command of the Viceroy Si, across the Tsung-ling range or Taghdumbash Pamir to attack the Chinese was shattered due to sufferings during the passage of the mountains, and it finally lost to the Chinese forces under Pan-Chao. The Kushana ruler was compelled to pay tribute.[104] The annals of the later Han dynasty record the arrival of several missions bringing tribute to the Chinese emperor during this period. This discomfiture seems to have been retrieved by Kanishka who defeated a Chinese vassal ruler of Central Asia. As reported by Hsuen-tsang,[105] his two sons were kept as hostages by the Kushana ruler. The evidence relating to Indo-Chinese relations under the Kushanas is only one-sided, but it is worth recording.

As reported earlier Vima Kadphises as well appeared to be an octogenarian and seems to have ruled for nearly forty-five years if the date and identity of the Khalatse rule as given by Sten Konow is accepted.[106] The rule's figure on the coins, something

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in the nature of a portrait, portrays an elderly person, well-built and of strength and character. All his coins, whether in gold or copper, unmistakably associate him with Saivism (Mahesvara). The reverse invariably depict Siva with his long trident sometimes accompanied by his Nandi - bull, occasionally a trident - battle axe - trisula - undoubtedly a Saiva emblem is shown. The obverse shows the king in various postures, either seated on a couch, or standing sacrificing at an altar, or even riding in a chariot drawn by two horses. Some times his bust or full figure seated cross-legged is represented as rising from the clouds. The legends on his coins in Greek are either Bacileus Ooemokadphises or Bacileus Basileon Soter Megas Ooemokadphises, and in Kharoshti are a little more elaborate maharayasa rajatirayasa Sarvalogaisvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasatradara. He is thus described as the 'Lord of all the worlds, and the Great King, King of Kings, the Saviour.'

The Intruders in Kushana History :

The death of Vima Kadphises probably took place about c. A.D. 125, or another four or five years later, as suggested by the terminus ad quem of the events reported in the Later Han annals, and the date of the Khalatse inscription and its reference to Vima Kadphises respectively. In the absence of any successor mentioned in the annals or in any inscription or coin, this second Kadphises ruler died intestate and with him ended the two-men rule of this first Kushana dynasty. The second one headed by Kanishka probably took sometime to step in as the legal successor of the preceding line of Kushanas. It seems that the death of Vima was a signal for the Kshatrapas in northern, central and south-western India to declare their independence. Zeionises

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or Jihonika in the north-west was only awaiting the opportunity. It is presumed by Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw[106] that Jihonika whose inscription of the year 191 and coins (called Zeionises) were found in Taxila, was his nephew and successor. While the relationship between the two is difficult to establish, the succession part could be accepted. Zeionises has been described as ruler of Pushkalavati.[107] The Taxila inscription shows that his province was that formerly held by Liaka Kusulaka and Patika, viz. Cukhsa, the modern Che Che of which Taxila was evidently the capital. Restoring the broken legend of the inscription, Konow proposed[108] that Zeionises' father, Mangula, was the brother of the maharaja i.e. apparently of some dignitary of high rank rather than that of a Kshatrapa. It is difficult to identify this maharaja. There is no indication in other sources of any Saka emperor between Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. And if Zeionises claimed the position, it may be surmised that he did not meet with success. In the words of Sten Konow, there was apparently after Vima Kadphises' death disintegration of Kushana power, similar to what seems to have taken place after the death of Moga. And it was only after the Indian Kushanas had joined hands with their cousins in Turkestan that the empire rose to new, and this time much increased power.

According to Rapson,[109] Kujula Kara Kadphises probably succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalavati, and he might have been contemporary with Vima Kadphises. Whitehead considered[110] Jihonika as belonging to the dynasty of Gondopheres and therefore Parthian. As mentioned earlier, Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw proposed[111] that Jihonika was the heir presumptive of Vima Kadphises. She referred to the coins of Jihonika displaying only

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the round form of sigma and Omnikron, and as such it seemed impossible to insert him before Vima Kadphises and he had to be dated later on. Further, Van Lohuizen considered Jihonika, son of Manigula, the brother of the Maharaja Rajatiraja as the nephew and heir presumptive of Vima Kadphises. This is confirmed according to her by Ferishta[112] in the introduction to his History as well as Mujamal-ut-Tawarikh. In this context, it may be mentioned here that the reading of the name in the inscription is doubtful. The only inference that could be drawn is the relationship of Jihonika, a Parthian as the name Zeionis suggests, to some regal family. Further it would be improper to make surmises on the basis of evidence of more than a thousand years later.

The firs t phase of Kushana history, thus, ends with the reign of Vima Kadphises which was fairly long and equally eventful. Besides extensive conquests extending beyond Mathura and possibly upto the border of present Bihar in the east, the Leh region in the north, Malva and Western India in the south-west, the Kushan empire in his time touched Parthia and included parts of Ariana including Bactria. If the finds of his coins in large numbers could be an indication of the extent of his empire, then Ahin Posh and Begram in Afghanistan, Khorzen in former Soviet Central Asia and the Ganges valley in the east should be the terminal points of the empire of Vima Kadphises. He maintained contacts with the Roman world and for that purpose introduced a new monetary system to maintain uniformity throughout his empire. The standard gold dinar weighing about 8 gms. was introduced by him. It was about the same weight as the Roman aureus. He also struck a double dinar and a quarter dinar of gold. The small change of the monetary system was provided by his copper coinage,

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consisting of a large denomination weighing c. 17 gms. and sub-division of c. 8.5 gms. and c. 4 gms, corresponding to copper tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms struck on the Attic weight standard. These measures ensured smooth trade and uniformity in monetary transactions. The Kushana empire after Vima Kadphises was virtually split up with the Kshatrapas assuming independence, as mentioned earlier. There appears to be some gap [113] between the death of the Kadphises Vima and Kanishka who was also a scion of the Kushana race. The relations between the two cannot be ascertained with a reasonable amount of certainty. Scholars who associate Kanishka with the Saka era as its founder, no doubt rule out any break between the death of Vima and the accession of Kanishka without taking into account the role of the intruders - particularly Jihonika of the Taxila inscription of 191 and the Zeionises of coins. It was not a smooth transfer of power from one Kushana to the other of different families.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The stratification at Taxila shows that the Kushanas were the immediate successors of Gudavhara's dynasty, a fact corroborated by the Kharoshthi inscriptions as well. The passing of Pahlava rule in eastern Gandhara (Takshasila) is illustrated by the remarkable hoard of 21 small silver coins which was found by Sir John Marshal in an earthen jar on the ancient site of Sirkap. The coins belong to four distinct classes - two to the reigns of Pacores and Wima Kadphises (CHI Vol.I p. 580). Sir John has tabulated the results of all the finds of coinage (ASI. An.Rep. 1928-29 p.64). F.R.Allchin in his paper entitled 'Archaeology and the Date of Kaniska' : The Taxila Evidence contributed to the London Conference and published in the Papers on the Date of Kaniska' (Basham (Ed), Leiden. 1968. pp. 4ff) makes an attempt to outline the coins finds from Taxila and relate them to their archaeological contexts. Table I shows the number of coins finds of different rulers from Menander and Antialcidar to Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva at Sirkap from Strata VII-V to Sk. I. The study confirms Marshall's contention about the precedence of Kadphises group over that of Kanishka.

2. The views of these scholars are noted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1913ff, 913-940, and 965-1011. Fleet endorsed Cunningham's view on the subject that Kanishka began to reign in B.C. 58 and founded the so-called Vikrama era. (ibid p. 914). According to Kennedy, 'A study of Hellenism in the East has convinced me that Kanishka must be assigned to the first century B.C.'. As generally agreed Vima Kadphises flourished c. A.D. 50-78, it follows that the hundred years of the Kanishka dynasty must have preceded him. (JRAS. 1913. p. 922). This obslete view of Kanishka as the founder of the Vikrama era pressed by Fleet and Kennedy, was revived by D.N.Mukherji (Indian Culture - IC - Vol. I. 1935. p. 477). A fuller discussion on the date of Kanishka would be provided in relevant context in the next chapter.

3. The Hou-Han-Shu or the Annals of the later Han were written by Fan-Ye, who died in A.D. 445. He states, "The notes which Pan-Ku has written on the configuration and the manner of the various (western) countries are detailed in the book of the older (Han) ; now I have chosen what in the events of the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) or later was different from what has already been said formerly, and I have compared the chapters on the western countries, or that, all the facts have been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngam (A.D. 107-125). These annals were translated by M. Chavannes (Tousg-Pao II, viii, pp. 187 ff, quoted from Corpus Vol. II (1) p. liv). E. Zurcher in his paper entitled "The Yueh-Chih and Kaniske in the Chinese sources" contributed to the London Conference and published in the Papers has a complete translation of Hou-Han-Shu - History of the Later Han, 120 chap. compiled by Fan Yeh (died A.D. 446) - Papers pp. 367-372.

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4. The Takhti-i-Bahi inscription dated in the year 103 mentions Erjhuna Kapa (CII p. 67 l.5). According to Rapson, every syllable of the reading is open to question, and in the circumstances, it is difficult to believe that Prince Kapa is anything more than a phantom, thus vanishing any reference to Kujula Kadphises in this record of Gondophernes (JRAS. Jan. 1930 p. 190). A variant of erjhuna rejhano is noticed in an inscription of the year 36 from Mathura. (Rosenfield. Papers p. 260.

5. CII. pp. 67ff.

6. ibid. pp. 70ff.

7. Bailey. H.W. - 'A Kharoshti inscription of Senavarman, king of Odi' - JRAS. 1980-81 pp. 21.29. See also Fussman. G. - BEFEO. 1982. LXXI. pp. 1.46 ; and Salomon. R.- Indo-Irarian Journal - IIJ. 1986 Vol. 29-4 pp. 26+-293. Fussman suggests that Kujula Kadphises had many sons, but it is impossible to tell whether this Sadashkhuna was the future emperor Vima Kadphises (who changed his name once crowned) or some other son of Kujula. He further contends that truly 'we do'nt even know whether Vima Kadphises was the son of Kujula Kadphises or only some member of his family. (Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Pakistan, Vol. 58. 1982. p.15).

8. Van Lohinzen-de-Leeww discusses in extense the problems of the eras in her work - The Scythian Period pp. 1 ff. It is now generally accepted that the Kharoshti records are dated in the year of B.C. 58, as the Vikrama era (Tarn. Op.cit. p. 348 ; Konow ; JRAS. 1932 pp. 950-2 ; JIH.XII. 1933, pp. 1 ff. Marshall and Rapson believed it to be era of Azes. (CII. pp. 70-1).

9. This idea was first mooted out by Boyer (JA. II Serie, tome v, 1915 pp. 281 ff (p. 287) ; followed by D.R.Bhandarkar IA. 45, 1916 ff. 120 ff, Sten Konow and Van Wick A.O. III 1925 pp. 52 ff. CII. p. 77 & xci, for the latest view of Sten Konow on the subject, See India Antiqua p. 197.

10. The Aya months. JBORS Vol. 23, 1937 pp. 261 ff.

11. CII p. xci. On the different interpretation of the word - see Marshall Ayasa = genitive of Azes, ASIAR 1912-13 pp.23ff; JRAS 1914 pp. 973 ff ; R.P.Chanda and Sten Konow accepted the Hypothesis of Marshall - JRAS 1920 pp. 319 ff ; JRAS 1920 pp. 319 ff ; JRAS 1932 pp. 948 ff. Fleet took the word meaning Asya (JRAS 1915 pp. 531 ff). Earlier he suggested that Ayasa was a form of Ashadha, name of a month (JRAS 1914 pp. 992 ff). Deo proposed that the term was suggestive of amanta month. (IHQ xiv. p. 411ff).

12. Op.cit p. 50. Ms Lohuizen-de-Leeuw believes that the era used in Pre-Kanishka inscriptions in North-West India was founded during the period of Greek expansion, and records the conquest of Bactria.

13. The association of Kapa or Kujula Kadphises with Gondophernes

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is based on this record of which the reading has been questioned, as pointed out earlier. (Rapson - JRAS. 1932 pp. 188-90). According to S.K.Dikshit, the two inscriptions of 103 and 122 (since they both mention a Maharaya) make it probable that Guduvhara and Gushana belong to one and the same dynasty (ABORI. xxxiii p. 128). This view seems to ignore the successors of Gondophernes, as also the evidence from the Chinese annals. It is, however, difficult to explain the presence of Kujula Kadphises in the court of Gondophernes, if we accept Konow's reading and explanation of the word 'Erjhuna Kapa'. The year 26 might be the regnal year of the Maharaja Guduvhara or of some unidentified era.

14. CII. II. p.67. The inscription was first published by Cunningham JASB. xxiii. 1954 p. 705, reproduced and discussed by Dowson (JRAS. xx. 1863. pp. 233 and 265) and quoted by E.Thomas (JRAS. New Series ix. 1877, p. 9). It was referred to by Smith (JASB. xii. 1. 1893 p. 85 ; JRAS. 1903 p. 41), Senart, Buhler, Banerji, Fleet, Holsein, Konow and Majumdar (full references in CII p. 68).

The reference to the word 'Gushanasa', as the genitive singular of Gushana is interesting, the word also occurs in the Manikiala stone inscription (Konow. Op.cit p. 149 1.2) of the year 18 of Maharaja Kaneshka (Kanishka). The Dandanayaka Lala is described as Gushanavasasamvardhaka, 'the increaser of Gushana or Kushana family'. Lala was probably a scion of the Kushana race.

15. The silver scroll bearing this Kharosnti inscription was found during excavations in Taxila by Marshall in one of the Chambers to the west of the Dharmarajika Stupa of the Chir mound. The inscription was edited by Marshall (JRAS. 1914 pp. 973 ff ; 1915 pp. 191 ff ; ASIAR. 1912-13 pp.18 ff; Boyer (JA. xi-v. 1915 pp. 281 ff) and Konow (SBAW 1916 pp. 803 ff. EI. XVI. pp. 284 ff), CII. p. 7 ff. Various interpretations have been given by Thomas, Fleet, Bhandarkar, Woolner, Chanda, Deb, Rapson and Luders. (Reference quoted from the Corpus p. 71). The location of the place where this record was found and the era used in it, are conclusive in ascribing it to the Kadphises ruler, very probably Kujula, though some press the claim of Wima Kadphises.

16. According to Hirth, An-su is to be correctly philologically identified with Antioch (Dikshit. ABORI. xxviii p. 134) whether the name An-si itself be Antioch (Merv) or (spelling it An-sik), Arsok, has been much discussed. According to Tarn, all the countries in the Report are names of peoples, and there is no reason for supposing that in one case a King's name was used, especially as the report knows nothing of the Parthians proper, the aristocracy. To Pan-ku, An-si was originally Antioch-Merv, Parthian being a derivative meaning. This is confirmed by Merv (Mou-Lou being called little An-si in the Hou-Han-Shu (Chavannes, T'oung - Pao VIII. p. 177) (Tarn - p. 281 n.). Pu-Ta (pronounced Puk-d'-at in the Tang period - Karlgren Nos. 760, 956) has not been identified. As regards Ki-pin, Rapson presumed

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that this geggraphical term was used in various senses by Chinese writers (CHI p. 567). Levi concluded long ago (JA 1915 p. 162) that the Chinese mixed up Kapisa and Kashmir in their Ki-pin. Tarn presumes that the word meant the Kushana empire, which included Kapisa and Kashmir, but the Chinese had the word long before the Kushana period. To Pan-Ku personally, Ki-pin meant the Saka realm in India (See Herzfeld - Sakastan p. 32). Ki-pin must be treated as die politische d einheit des Sakareichs. Pan-Ku, having transferred the Ki-pin name of Kabul to the Saca kingdom, introduced a new name for Kabul (Kao-fu, Kao-phou, Ko-hu) and wrongly made it the domain of the one of the five Yabghus of the Yueh-chi. The Hou-Han-shu pointed out the error. (Tarn. Op.cit p. 473n.).

17. Gardner. British Museum Catalogue - BMC. Rep. 1953. p.xlv.

18. Whitehead. CPM. p. 154.

19. Cunningham. Catalogue. CAI. p. 122.

20. ASI An.Rep. 1912-13. p. 14.

21. According to Herzfeld, the name Phraotes could be the same as the word apratihata which appears on the coins of Gondophernes, and consequently the Phraotes in Philostratus' Romance is the same person as Gondophernes. Tarn agrees with him (Op.cit. p. 341) while Mrs. Lohuizen questions it on linguistic grounds, and suggests that the name 'Phraotes' is the same as one of the two very often occuring Parthian names Phraates or Phraotes (Op. cit. p. 353).

22. p. 465. Smith quoting Sylvain Levi and Sten Konow gave up his earlier identification of Kipin with Kashmir, in favour of Gandhara, including Taxila and Takht-i-Bahai (EHI. 1924. p. 267).

23. A comprehensive study of the Hermaeus Kujula Kadphises coins has been made by Tarn. (Appendix 17). The Kadphises coins of much inferior style, resembling the debased copies of Hermaeus money issued after his death fall into two classes: The first class has on obverse bust of Hermaeus diademned and Greek legend Basileos Soteros Hermaiou (often corrupted); reverse, Heracles facing with club and lion's skin, and the Kharoshthi legend Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa. This class has only the square omicron but no other square letters. The second has : obverse bust of Hermaeus diademed and a Greek legend usually mutilated, reading 'Kujula Kadphises Kushan', reverse, the same as in the first class, In the third class, a strange copper coinage (BMC p. 172, Lahore Cat p. 85 Nos. 682-82) obverse, bust of Hermaeus with the Greek ~~to~~ legend similar to class I, reverse, Nike holding the wreath and a Kharoshthi legend Maharajas Rajarajasa Mahatasa Hermayasa. According to Marshall, the coins of Hermaeus found in Sirkap fall into three classes, i.e. (1) 28 specimens of the type "Bust of King and Zeus enthroned (2) two barbaric imitations

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of the foregoing. (3) 263 specimens of the type "Bust of king and Nike. He suggests that the first of these was no doubt issued by Hermaeus himself. The second might have been made by forgers. As to the third Tarn attributes them to Kujula Kadphises, and explains them as propaganda coins. Bachhofer says that this type was always, and correctly, considered to be the last of Hermaeus who appears there as an old man. (JAOS Dec. 1941). Neither of these views, according to Marshall, is correct. The fabric,design, and find-spots, and associations of these coins all combine to indicate that they were issued by one of the Saka or Parthian rulers who followed Hermaeus in the Paropamisade. (JRAS. April 947 p. 25).

24. Indian Coins, p. 16. Among the joint issues, the most important instance is that of Azes and Azilises and Azes II. Several rulers imitated the coinage of rulers of much earlier period, as for example, coins of Demetrius by Maues, of those of Eucratides by Liaka Kusulaka, and of those of Stratos by Ranjuvula.

25. JRAS. 1906 p. 194 note.

26. CHI. I. p. 561-2.

27. Taxila. Vol.I. p. 52.

28. JIH. Op.cit p. 29.

29. Op. cit. p. 338.

30. Tarn gives credence to the story of Yen-mo-fu from the Chien-Han-Shu with an air of jubilance that it fits extraordinarily well within his scheme. He thinks that Hermaeus was Wen-chung's vassal who dislodged the Sakas of Kabul with the help of the Kushana chief Miaos. Hermaeus also gave the Kushana a relative in marriage, probably his sister rather than his daughter. Hermaeus in this way got the whole of Paropamisadae, but as China's vassal, which he subsequently threw off. The Kushana ruler Kadphises I was Miaos' descendant who claimed and conquered the Paropamisadae as the representative by blood of Hermaeus (Op.cit. p. 343 & Appendix 17). Narain thinks it likely that earlier in his reign Hermaeus lost his possessions north of the Hindukush to the Yueh-chi, perhaps to an ancestor of Kujula Kadphises who may have been Heraus. When Kujula conquered the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas, he struck coins with the type of Heracles, which had been adopted earlier by the Pahlava kings, PMC. pp. 124, 138, 141 and 143 - Indo-Greeks p. 160. Bachhofer thinks that Kujula imitated those currencies which were best known and most readily accepted striking pieces with the head of Augustus for the same reason. (JAOS. 1941. p. 240). See also Bataille - Notes sur la numismatique des Kushana et des Kushanshah summarised by Henri Deydier in his contribution a l'etude de l'art du Gandhara. pp. 250 ff.

31. ibid. p. 507.

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32. Op. Cit. p. 364.

33. JAOS. 1941. p. 340.

34. JRAS. April 1941. p. 24.

35. Whitehead. PMC. pl. xvii. 24.

36. Whitehead. Op. cit. According to Ghirshman, the monsoon trade with India was discovered during Augustus reign (Begram p. 123). This is questioned by Prof. Lohuzen, quoting Thiel, that important discovery was made a century earlier. (Op.cit. p. 366. note 155).

37. According to Allan, the coin type concerned is indebted to a coin of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) than to one of Augustus. (Cambridge Shorter History of India. 1934. p. 74). It appears convincing to Narain (Indo-Greeks. p. 160. n.7). David Macdowall in his paper contributed to the London Conference (Op.cit) endorses the earlier view that the head on the obverse is almost certainly copied from that of Augustus or Tiberius rather than from that of Gaius, Claudius, Nero, or any other subsequent emperor. (Papers. p. 144).

38. BSOAS. 1953. XVI. p. 89.

39. The gold standard of Wima Kadphises and the kings after him, was imitated from the Roman aureus instituted by Augustus, Kennedy formerly doubted whether the standard of the Indian coins was indeed that of Augustus (JRAS. 1912. pp. 665 ff). It is obvious, suggests Mrs. Lohuizen, that the motive to mint gold coins under Vima Kadphises must be sought for in the enormous influx of Roman coins between the years 27 B.C. until 68 A.D. (dating chiefly from the reign of Augustus, until and including Nero). A copper coin of Kujula Kadphises with the representation of King's head proves that already under this line the stream of Roman gold began to pour in. (Scythian Period pp. 365-66).

40. Kanishka Papers. pp. 144-45.

41. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13. pp. 44-51.

42. Whitehead. PMC. p. 180. Nos. 16, 23.

43. CII. Vol. II. p. lxv.

44. CHI. Vol. I. p. 582 ; Indian Coins. p. 17 ; Gardner. BMC. p. xlix.

45. CHI. p. 582.

46. JRAS. 1947. p. 48.

47. CII. p. lxv. According to Konow, Kara may be a title of a similar kind as the unexplained Kala preceding the name Kushanasena in the Niya document, no. 399, where the comparison

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with ogu Kushanasena in nos. 136, 193, 198, gusura Kushanasena in no. 320 & c. makes us inclined to think of a title.

48. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13. p. 52. no. 49.

49. Cunningham, N.C. 30 series. XII. 1892. pp. 65 f.

50. JIH. XII. 1933. p. 302.

51. Hou-Han-Shu Chap. 120 ; Chavannes. Les Pays d'occident d'apres le Heou-Han-Chou Serie 11. tomme VIII. 1907. pp. 187 ff. See also E.Zurcher. Kanishka Papers. pp. 363 ff.

52. Op. Cit. p. lxvii.

53. Op. Cit. pp. 375-6.

54. Tang pronunciation Sien-dunk (Karlgran Nos. 869, 645). The description of the country as given in the Hou-Han-Shu is as follows : "The kingdom Tien-chu is so called Shen-tu. The kingdom is situated on the banks of a great river. The inhabitants mount on elephants in war ; they are weaker than the Yueh-chi. The practise the religion of the Buddha; It has become a habit with them not to kill and not to fight. Parting from Kao-fu which belongs to the Yueh-chi, and turning towards the south-west one comes to the western sea; in the east one comes to the kingdom of Pan-ki, all these countries from part of Shen-tu. Shen-tu has several hundred other towns (besides the capital) ; in each town a governor has been appointed ; there are several tens of other kingdoms (besides the principal kingdom) ; in each kingdom there is a king. Though one observes some small differences in each of these kingdoms, they are nevertheless all called Shen-tu. At that time (i.e. probably when Pan-young wrote, or towards A.D. 125) they were all dependent on the Yueh-chi, the Yueh-chi had killed the king and installed a general to govern the population. (Konow. Op.cit. p. lxvii).

55. Jacobi-Das Kalakacharyakathanakam. ZDMG. 34. pp. 247 ff; Bhaudaji : The inroads of the Scythians into India, and the story of the Kalakacharya. JBBRAS. IX. 1872. pp. 139 ff. Jayaswal. JBORS. XVI. 1930. pp. 233 ff ; Raychaudhuri : Vikrama Volume. Ujjain. 1948. pp. 483 ff.

56. CHI. p. 481 ; Comprehensive History of India (Co.HI) p. 231.

57. CII. p. 80.

58. JRAS. Jan. 1930. p. 198.

59. Konow. Op. cit. p. lxxv. According to Konow, it is a well known fact that Kanishka is not mentioned in the Chinese historical sources, although the Chinese were well aware of the happenings down to about A.D. 125, but not after that time. (Chavannes : Toung-Pao. II. viii. p. 150 ff).

60. JRAS. April 1947. p. 30.

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61. Kujula Kadphises' conquest of Taxila and the Gandhara regions is equally evident from the finds of his coins in abundance in this area. According to Marshall, Kujula Kadphises' coins have been found in such large numbers in Sirkap (more than 2500 in all) that it would be natural to infer that he added Gandhara and Taxila to his other conquests. (JRAS. April 1947. p.27). See also Allchin : The Taxila Evidence. Kanishka Papers. Table I. p. 11. The finds include 4 from Sk. vii-v, 29 from Sk. iv ; 1780 from Sk. III-II and 292 from Sk. I.

62. Fleet. CII. III. pp. 65 ff.

63. Rapson. Cat. Coins of the Western Kshatrapas. p. 192.

64. EI. VIII. p. 86.

65. Rapson. Op. Cit. pp. 65, 72, 73 ; Luder's List No. 1039, 1132, 1134, 1135, 1174, in which Nahapana is mentioned as Mahakshatrapa (Rajan mahakshatrapa Sami (Svami). Nahapana Chashtana is mentioned as a Mahakshatrapa in Nos. 963, 965-67, and as Rajan in the Andhau inscription (EI. XVI. pp. 19 ff).

66. EI. XVI. p. 10.

67. EI. VIII. pp. 36 ff. Luders List No. 965.

68. IA. 1918. p. 69. Bhandarkar suggested that the word Kusana may be identified with the Khushanasa of the Taxila silver scroll inscription, and Nahapana was at first the Viceroy of Kujula Kadphises and later on of Vima Kadphises. It seems doubtful if Kujula Kadphises could be implied here. His empire never extended that side. There is another point Nahapana's records are dated in the Saka era and he was preceded by Bhumaka. Both of them are mentioned as Kshaharata Kshatrapas. It seems likely that both owed allegiance to Vima Kadphises. According to Sten Konow, Sandanes of the Periplus could be identified with Chen-t'an, as suggested by Levi. This he accepts, but Kumarajiva's pupil Seng-chao replaces it by Yueh-chi-wang, Yue-chi king or prince who may be identified with Vima Kadphises. (IHQ. XIV. p. 150). According to Senart, Kusana, corresponding to paduko of the Kanheri inscription, meant a monthly stipend given to a monk during a certain period of the year for his food. (ASI.WI. IV. p. 79).

69. Whitehead. PMC. p. 183.

70. Ushavadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana could never have used the term Bhattarka for his father-in-law. It would be against the very spirit of their relations. In the socio-religious structure, recognising the hierarchy of the Brahmins for whom he created so many endowments, the son-in-law has definitely a respectable status. In all likelihood, the term seem to be applicable to the overlord of his father-in-law.

71. Bombay Gazetteer (BG. I. i. p. 32).

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72. JRAS. 1913. p. 993. note 1.

73. IA. X. p. 226.

74. ASWI. IV. p. 37.

75. Catalogue - B.M. Op. Cit. p. cvi.

76. EHI. p. 222.

77. Ref. no. 65. Op. Cit.

78. ibid.

79. CII. p. lxx ; EI. XVI. pp.

80. EI. VIII. pp. 60 ff ; Luder's List No. 1123.

81. In a thought provoking paper on Sandanes, Nahapana, Chashtana and Kanishaka, F.W. Thomas suggested that there was nothing to connect Vima Kadphises with eastern India, or with the Saka era. According to him the coins of the Nahapana dynasty exemplify three stages of development in the form of s and so cover a long period ; the earliest being more or less contemporary with Vonones and Azes. Bhumaka and the first Nahapana, he suggests, belonged to the same epoch as the Taxila Mathura satraps (New Indian Antiquary - henceforth NIA. Vol. VII. Nos. 5 & 6 pp. 85-86). We are unable to agree with the late Professor's suggestion of more than one Nahapana, and giving them longer period of rule on Paleographic grounds; and finally denying the contemporaneity of Gautamiputra Satakarni with Nahapana. The Nasik inscription of Balasri is very conclusive on this point.

82. Cunningham. ASR. II. p. 186.

83. JBORS. VI. pp. 12 ff.

84. James Kennedy in his 'Short note on the Nameless King' (JRAS. 1913. pp. 661-64) suggested that Soter Megas was governor of Kabul and co-regent with Vima Kadphises in the regions south of the Hindukush. (JRAS. 1913. pp. 661-64).

85. Cunningham. NC. K. 1890. pp. 115 ff.

86. Indian Coins. pp. 16 ff.

87. PMC. pp. 160 ff.

88. ibid.

89. CII. p. lxix.

90. ASI. An.Rep. 1912-13 p. 8.

91. According to Bachhofer, the coins mentioning a certain Soter Megas were struck during the reign of Vima Kadphises. He identified Soter Megas with Vima himself. (OZ. IV. 1927-28

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pp. 21 ff). Lohuizen-de-Leeuw agrees with Sten Konow (CII. p. lxix) that Soter Megas was the Viceroy of Vima Kadphises in India, mentioned in the Hou-Han-Shu (Op.cit. p. 375). Macdowall suggests that Soter Megas could be placed in the sequence of Kusana chronology. He had issued two main groups of coins. 1. Local issues in Taxila, Kabul valley, Mathura and north-east Punjab ; 2. General issues struck on the same Attic weight standard as those of Vima. Numismatically Soter Megas precedes Vima and follows Kujula. Perhaps Soter Megas was either a separate Kusana king or identical with Kujula Kadphises. (Kanishka Papers. p. 419).

92. The unique coin described by Cunningham (NC. 1892. p. 77. Pl. XV, fig. 14) which exhibits a bust with two faces, the left being bearded, with the Kadphises symbol in front, while the right face is smooth, with the symbol of nameless king in front, is conclusive evidence of the two princes being contemporary. Cunningham specified the details of agreement. Smith. JRAS. Jan. 1903. p. 31).

93. Kanishka Papers. pp. 293 ff. Stavisky rebuts Mason's theory - dating the coins of Soter Megas in the period after the rule of Kadphises II (c. A.D. 85-125). According to him, the distribution of this coinage (of Soter Megas) corresponds rather with the flourishing period of the Kushana Empire in the last years of Kadphises II's rule and during the reign of Kanishka than with the first stages of the Kushan state under Kadphises I. (Op. cit. p. 302).

94. Kanishka Papers. p. 124.

95. ibid. p. 112.

96. D.R.Bhandarkar Volume. Calcutta. p. 288. Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw takes the record of 299 to be really 199. She identifies the Maharaja Rajatiraja of this record with Vima Kadphises or a successor of his. (Op.cit. p. 373).

97. JRAS. Jan. 1903. p. 31. Recent excavations by the Russian archaeologists confirm Kushana hold over Russian Turkestan. From the Chinese side, it extended upto parts of Chinese Turkestan.

98. Kanishka Papers. pp. 137, 140, 143.

99. For weights and assays of Kushana coins - see Cunningham : Coins of Mediaeval India, p. 16 ; Rapson : Indian Coins, p. 14, 69, 123 ; Smith : EHI. p. 27 on ; For an account of finds of Roman coins in India, see Sewell : JRAS. 1904. p. 591.

100. McCrindle : Ancient India p. 212. Dion Cassius was born at Nicasa in Bithyma, about A.D. 155, when about twenty-five years of age, he proceeded to Rome, where he twice held the consulship. His greatest work 'History of Rome' contained in eighty books, embraces the whole history down to A.D. 229.

101. ibid. p. 213.

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102. Pliny refers (Hist.Nat. XII. c. 10(41) to the pouring of Roman coins in India as a result of trade and commerce between the two countries. (McCrindle. Op.Cit. p. 125). If Vima reigned after A.D. 78, there is no difficulty in understanding the fact that his gold coins agree exactly in weight with the aurei of the early Roman empire which, according to the testimony of Pliny and the evidence of numerous finds, poured in India in vast quantity for many years. (Smith. JRAS. Jan. 1903. p. 34).

103. China-Story of Nations. p. 18. According to Levi, Pan-Chao's army reached as far the confines of the Roman empire. (JA.ix. 1897. p. 50 ; Smith. EHI. pp. 268-89).

104. As to the suggestion that Vima Kadphises may have been alive at the date (127 A.D.) of Pan-Yung's report and that accordingly the Yue-chi invader of Chinese Turkestan defeated by Pan-Chao in A.D. 90, was Vima Kadphises. Thomas thought it incredible. How could the former Han annals give the account of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises, and afterwards relate the invasion of 90 A.D., without attributing it one or other of them. (NIA. Aug-Sept. 1944. p. 100). The argument ab-silentio seems no evidence for foisting the defeat on Kanishka. We shall refer to it again in connection with Kanishkha.

105. Beal : Buddhist Records. I. p. 57. After the death of Pan-Chao, Kanishka having secured the peaceful possession of India and Kashmir, was in a better position to surmount the appalling difficulties of conveying an effective army across the Taghdumbash Pamir. Kanishka succeeded where his predecessors had failed, and not only freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to China, but exacted the surrender of hostages from a state tributory to the Chinese empire. (Smith. EHI. p. 278).

106. Op. Cit. p. 379.

107. CHI. p. 582.

108. CII. p. 82.

109. CHI. p. 582.

110. PMC. p. 95.

111. Op. Cit. p. 379.

112. Eliot : The History of India. Vol. I. pp. 106-110. See also - Jayaswal. JBORS. XVIII. 1932. pp. 7-16.

113. According to Marshall, Vima's reign may have lasted into the opening years of the second century A.D., after which there was an interval of a couple of decades or so before Kanishka succeeded him. During this interval there seems to have been some disintegration of the Kushana power, but

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it is virtually certain that one or more Viceroys under the name of Soter Megas continued to rule the Punjab and north-west on behalf of the absent Kushana lord. Apart from other considerations, the changes in script, language, and design in the coins of the rulers (Vima and Kanishka) point to an interval between them. (JRAS. April 1947 p.32).

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CHAPTER III

KANISHKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The advent of Kanishka to power adds another milestone to the history of the Kushanas. He and his successors have different name endings (ishka, eshka) which suggest their alienation from the Kadphises group. Both, however, call themselves Kushanas or Kushans in their inscriptions and coins. The use of the title devaputra or 'son of God' by the rulers of both the groups in their inscriptions[1] is equally suggestive of their generic affiliation. It is made clear in the last chapter that there was a gap between Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. This is of course disputed by some scholars,[2] who advocate Kanishka as the founder of the Saka era. They also suggest close filial relationship between the two groups and point to Kanishka as the immediate successor of Vima Kadphises, and the take over by the latter was a mere formality. Certain new features are no doubt traceable in the records and coins of the Kanishka group of rulers. Their inscriptions are dated in an era commencing with the year 1(?) or 3 and these are found at Mathura, Kausambi and Sarnath at the eastern end and in Afghanistan, Sindh and Punjab at the western one. Their dates point to the expansion of the Kushana empire in a speedy manner. The coins begin to be minted in gold as well as in copper with portraits of divinities from different pantheons, and with diminution of Greek and Kharoshti writings. The close resemblance between the figures of Kanishka and Vima Kadphises in costume and physique rules out any notable racial difference. Unfortunately, the Chinese annals only refer to the movements of the Yueh-Chih, the emergence of the Kwei-Shuang yabgu as the dominating force, and finally the history

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of the two Kadphises rulers of this group. These sources are blank about Kanishka. Later accounts, based on traditions recorded centuries after in Tibetan and Chinese do provide some information about Kanishka[3] and his antecedants, his relations with the contemporary rulers of Khotan and others in Central Asia, and finally Kanishka's conquest of Northern India - either alone or in alliance with others.

The Date of Kanishka :

More important, however, is the date of Kanishka which has been 'one of those long-standing problems in regard to which one at an early stage conceives an opinion or receives a bias, but which, either for lack of decisive evidence, or because the mind, after considering many conflicting views, is incapable of an act of faith, one leaves in the sphere of things unsettled.' The evidence discovered between 1913 - the first London Conference, and 1960 the second one failed to solve the problem. Many problems had been clarified and new evidence had been considered. Despite these observations, a rationalist outlook would demand the reappraisal of the source material including the new material provided by the discovery of the Surkh Kotal inscription[4] dated of the year 31 of Kanishka and excavations at Central Asian sites as also in Afghanistan. One's right to profess and project one's view point with cogent reasoning and with an open mind necessitates the discussion on the subject in proper context and at full length. It may however be mentioned in this context that the difference in dating Kanishka which was at one time narrowed down between A.D. 78 (Rapson et al) and 128 (Sten Konow et Marshall) has been increased by Ghirshman

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(A.D. 144) who tried to establish a synchronism between the Kushanas and the Sassanids on the basis of excavations at Begram, near Kabul.

Ghirshman's Dating of Kanishka & Central Asian Sites :

Ghirshman's dating[5] of Kanishka was based on the trilingual inscription of the Sasanian ruler Sapur, discovered at Naqsh-i-Rustam.[6] The Begram excavations suggest three different strata - the Pre-Kushana with the finds of coins of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises as also those of the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian rulers ; the next one containing some coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. The terminating point of this Kushana dynasty of Kanishka was provided by the conquest of Sapur whose inscription is engraved on the walls of Kaba-Zardust or Tomb of 20 roaster at Naksh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis. As a result of this conquest the second city of Begram was completely ruined. Its date could be at any time between the accession of Sapur I (A.D. 241) and the second war against the Romans. (A.D. 251-52). Since the latest coins found here were those of Vasudeva, the last ruler of Kanishka's family, the destruction of the city took place in his time. This Vasudeva could be identified with the Po-tiao[7] of the Chinese text San-Kuo-Chih.

It is further suggested by Ghirshman[8] that between Paropamisades, Bactria and Sogdiane, six ancient sites including Begram, namely Surkh-Kotal, Qala-i-Mir, Kai-Kobed, Airtan-Termez and Tali-Barzu (near Samarkand) present an undeniable unity in their archaeological and numismatic contexts. In each of these sites, the Kushanas submitted to destruction and a layer of ash

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suggests burning of the site. After a brief interval, there was renewed effort in setting up a new city over the preceding one (except at Airtam which was abandoned). The new building activity was undertaken under the third Kushana dynasty.

The date of the destruction of the sites is not recorded though the inclusion of a part of the Kushana empire in the domains of Sapur figures in the Kaba-- Zardust inscription[9]. This could be the result of the conquest either by Ardasir or by Sapur I which could have taken place any time between A.D. 223 and 262. The date of the destruction of Begram II is based on two hypothesis - finds of eight poor coins of Vasudeva I, and the event happening sometime between Sapur's accession in A.D. 241 and his march against Rome.

Rebuttal and Support by some scholars :

The findings of Ghirshman are contested by A.K.Narain[10] who s-uggests that the numismatic evidence clearly goes against any such classification of the Kushanas into three dynasties. Maricqu questions[11] the validity of the conclusions drawn by Ghirshman. He considers the utilization of the different documents insufficient and only partially published - as not necessarily definitive[12]. On the other hand, A.G.Pullyblank supports Girshman's dating of Kanishka from another angle. He notices a late Buddhist tradition connecting Kanishka with Khotan and his conquests as far as the western frontiers of China. According to him, there is indeed a strong circumstantial evidence for Kushana penetration into the Tarim Basin. Further in the IIIrd century the North-west Indian Prakrit used in the Kushana empire was being employed as an administrative language in the kingdom of Lou-Lan (Kror-yana) in the Lop-Nor region. Moreover,

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copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, and of these Kushana rulers alone were found at Khotan by Arel Steen. Since copper coins travel much less freely in commerce than gold and silver, these were in circulation there as a part of the Kushana empire, Pulleyblank suggests that there is enough to make it clear that there could not have been any Kushana invasion before A.D. 175. In his words,[13] not only Ghirshman's chronology fits without difficulty all the Chinese evidence, but also that it is the only one that does so. It seems to tik the numismatic and palaeographic evidence as well.

This dating for Kanishka is also preferred by R.Gobl[14] who bases his contention on the numismatic evidence alone, particularly consistent relationship between the originals from the Roman Empire and their adaptations: Vima drawing from Trajan, Kanishka from Hadrian, and Huvishka from Antonius Pius. This parallelism after making allowance from 'coin-draft' makes Vasudeva I a contemporary of Later Marcus Aurelius. The author prefers A.D. 144 as the date of Kanishka's accession.

The Begram Excavations and after :

The Begram's excavations and Kushana chronology as proposed by Ghirshman has been put to great scrutiny by Andri Maricq[15] and it is worth mentioning. The destruction of Begram town II as a result of war is no doubt accepted as also the construction of a new town, Begram III. In Begram II, Hackin discovered[16] in two rooms an extraordinary treasure consisting of some Chinese lacquers, numerous Indian ivories and western objects in still greater numbers, such as glass, bronzes, and plaster moulds of silver articles. These finds suggest the

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importance of Begram and its situation at the crossroads of the routes to the west, India and Shina. Hackin had estimated that these objects covered a period from the first to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The most recent coins found in the same archaeological stratum as this treasure (Begram II), according to Ghirshman,[17] are those of Vasudeva I whose date he proposes between A.D. 220 to 230.

The Trilingual Inscription of Sapur :

Besides the internal archaeological evidence noticed above, the external evidence on the subject is provided by the famous trilingual inscription of the Sassanid Sapur I discovered at Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis in 1936 and 1939. According to Ghirshman, Sapur there gives a list of the provinces that he had conquered during a great compaign against the Kushanas traversing Afghanistan from the south to the north in the direction of Sogdiana. Accordingly, Begram was destroyed by Sapur between 241 and 250. He put an end to Vasudeva's reign whose last record is dated in the year 98 of Kanishka's era. If the beginning of Kanishka era falls between 143 and 152, and, on the other hand, has to correspond to the year 201 of the old era, which is of 57 B.C., then it comes to A.D. 144. The inscription of Sapur from Naqsh-i-Rustam enumerates the provinces of his empire as also reports three victorious wars against Rome, and finally announces commemorative foundations consisting of five fires bearing his name and those of his four children, and three perpetual sacrifices whose respective beneficiaries include Sapur himself, his close relations, other members of the Sasanid court, alive or dead and dignitaries. The list of such dignitaries includes a king of Margiana, a king of Carmania, and a king of the Sakas, by which term the Kushanas are implied.

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It is however proposed by Maricq[18] that the Kushana king submitted and was spared, as recorded by Tabari. According to him, the kings of the Kushanas, of Turfan and of Makran, submitted without battle to Ardashir and kept their territories as vassals. Maricq therefore questions the slightest element of proof for attributing to Sapur the destruction of Begram on the basis of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription. He as well contests the interpretation of the 'treasure' from Begram, attributing it to the time of Vasudeva. A more reliable and slightly more precise detail, according to Maricq,[19] is the discovery of a hoard of 22 coins of Huvishka in Stratum II near the palace. If these coins do originate from Begram II, they seem to indicate that the town was destroyed at the beginning of Vasudeva I, and not at its end, as was postulated by Ghirshman.

Archaeological Evidence from other Central Asian sites :

The archaeological evidence from the other Kushana sites destroyed by Sapur I are as well put under scrutiny by Maricq. Ghirshman suggests[20] that in passing from Paropamisades to Bactria as far as Sogdiana six ancient sites - Begram, Surkh Kotal, Qalai-Mir, Kai-Kobed, Airtan-Termez and Tali-Barzuu (near Samarkand) present an undeniable unity in their archaeological and numismatic context. In every one of these, the city (or the temple) of the grand Kushanas submitted to a destruction and for certain died down under a layer of ash. After a brief interruption life appeared afresh and a new city was set up. The Kushana empire seems to have collapsed like a house of cards before the Sassanid push which began in the time of Ardashir and ended with Sapur I, a period of twenty years.

Referring to the excavated sites - Tali Barzuu, near

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Samarkand in Sogdiana, Airtan-Termez on the Oxus, Kala-i-Mir and Kay-Kobed situated nine and a half miles distant from one another on a tributary of the Oxus, the Kafir-nihan, in the plain of Kobadan, Maricq leaves out Airtam-Termez and Tali-Barzu, as none of these was destroyed by Sapur I. At Kalai-Mir and Kay-Kobad life had stopped from the 1st century B.C. According to this French scholar,[21] the only conclusion from Airtam-Termez and Kobadian is that the period of the Kanishka's dynasty was a prosperous one for Bactria, leading to the development of great urban centre which was abandoned later on, at least in part.

Majumdar and Zeymal and the Third Century date :

Another theory places Kanishka's accession in the third century A.D. It is still pursued by R.C. Majumdar,[22] of course not with that much of zeal as by the Soviet scholar Zeymal.[23] Majumdar suggests that the flourishing Kushana period was the first half of the IIIrd century A.D. He as well calls attention to the similarity between Kushana and early Gupta forms in iconography and in palaeography with reference to the Mathura Pedestal inscription of the year 14.[24] He associates the well-known era of A.D. 248/9 with Kanishka's accession. Zeymal, however, pushes Kanishka further down and places his accession in A.D. 278 as was earlier proposed by the Bhandarkar in 1899. The beginning of the unknown era could be A.D. 78 (equated with the Saka era), and the Kanishka era is regarded as the 3rd century of that unknown era. In Zeymal's opinion, this date offers not only a new (fully satisfactory) solution of many problems of the Kushana epoch but as well presumes a general revision of the historical picture on the territory of the Kushana kingdom from the 1st

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century A.D. to the IVth century A.D. This late date for Kanishka no doubt involves his clash not only with the Guptas but also with several other tribes ruling independently between the Later Kushanas and the Imperial Guptas.

The Saka era theory and its examination :

The Saka era theory of A.D. 78 with Kanishka as its founder is widely accepted by many Indians and other scholars, including Maricq, Tolstov and Rapson. The Cambridge professor had proposed[25] long ago that 'the dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Surashtra and Malwa, known as the western Satraps, start from the beginning of Kanishka's reign in A.D. 78. It was the outcome of its long use by the Saka princes of western India that the era was generally known in India as the Saka Era - a name which effectually disguises its origin, and one which has in no small degree perplexed modern scholars in their endeavour to unravel the secret of Kanishka'. H.C.Ray Chaudhary endorsing this theory, points out[26] that 'a date as late as A.D. 125 or later for Kanishka's ascendancy was impossible in view of Rudradaman's hold over Malwa in A.D. 150, while Vasishka is mentioned in an inscription of the year 28 of Kanishka's era at Sanchi. He finds it difficult to reconcile the contemporaneity of the two and their hold over Malwa as independent rulers. The same thing can be said about the Kushanas and the Sakas ruling in Sindh and Sauvira at the same time. There are several other problems in connection with the fixation of Kanishka's date of accession in A.D. 78, which demand consideration from different angles. Unlike the inscriptions dated in three digits and in the old era, those of Kanishka and his successors are dated in an era named after this ruler (Kanishkasya Samvatsare)

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and the months and dates follow a uniform pattern - the seasonal division of the year and the dates without reference to the bright or the dark half of the month. This point is significant and rules out any association of Kanishka with the old era. As pointed out earlier, the Kushana ruler mentioned in the Taxila record of the year 136 cannot be Kanishka but the Kadphises ruler Vima. Besides the dating pattern the find spot of this inscription is equally important. The scroll bearing this Kharoshti record was found by Marshall in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarajika, stupa of the Chir mound. According to Sir John, 'the chapel in question is built in a small diaper type of masonry which came into vogue in Taxila about the middle of the first century A.D., and lasted for about four hundred years. The plate shows the symbol which is known from the coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises, Vima Kadphises and Zeionises.[27] The record is dated in the old era, and if Kanishka was the founder of an era commencing from the year 1 of his accession, there seems no reason why this record, and so many others that follow, namely the Peshawar Museum Inscription of the year 168,[28] the Khalatse one of the year 187(?),[29] the Taxila silver base of the year 191,[30] the Dewai[31] of the year 200 should be dated in the old era. Further, unlike the records connected with Kanishka and his family, the names of the individual months are given . No record dated in the old era is found between 200 (Dewai) and 318 (Loringan Tangai). According to Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw,[32] that was the period covered by the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors. That might be acceptable but there seems a consensus of opinion that this old era be equated with the era of 58/57 B.C., later on known as the Vikrama or krita era.[33] Marshall and others[34]

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associate the name of Azes as its founder.

Certain chronological problems equally emerge with the association of Kanishka as the founder of the Saka era. The record of Jihonika again from Taxila, dated in the year 191 = A.D. 133 confirms him as the ruler of this part of Gandhara. He uses the title Rajan and also issues coins in the name of Zeionises. On the other hand the Wardhak inscription[36] of Huvishka dated in the year 51 extends the rule of this Kushana ruler even 30 miles to the west of Kabul. If this record of Kanishka's successor is dated in the Saka era of A.D. 78, then Huvishka's empire included Afghanistan in the year A.D. 129. Therefore, either Jihonika was ruling as a vassal of the Kushanas, or the western portion of the Kushana empire was lost to this local ruler. Unfortunately neither of these two probabilities can be accepted. The Kushana inscriptions mention several Kshatrapas and mahakshatrapas, namely Kharapallana, Vanashpara (Sarnath)[37], Liaka (Zeda)[38], Vespasi (Manikiala)[39], the Kapisa Kshatrapa[40], son of Kshatrapa G(r)anavhryaka (Manikiala Bronze casket) of the time of Kanishka. These Kshatrapas never issued coins. Moreover, the finds of Zeionises coins[41] have settled his place between Vima Kadphises and Kanishka who has to be pushed down in the second century A.D. to avoid any chance of overlapping.

Another instance of chronological overlapping arises in the context of Kanishka's relation with the Saka Kshatrapa Rudradaman and the latter's hold over Malwa. An inscription of Vasishka[42] dated in the year 28 from Sanchi suggests Kushana's hold over Malwa region. The Junagarh inscription[43] of Rudradaman of the year 72 = A.D. 150 makes no reference to an overlord, and the era used in this record is the Saka one of A.D. 78. Rudradaman holding

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the title of Rajan Mahakshatrapa had attained it himself (svayam - adhigata mahakshatrapa namna). He was evidently not a vassal but a powerful ruler who issued coins and in his record claims victories over the Yaudheyas who dwelt on the southern bank of the Sutlej in the very heart of Kanishka's territory. He had as well defeated the Satakarni ruler Pulumavi but did not destroy him because of close relationship. This difficulty could be overcome if Kanishka came to power after Rudradaman. The Sui-vihar inscription is dated in the year 11 of his era. If Kanishka's accession is dated in the year A.D. 144, then he could have easily conquered the Sind and lower Punjab region when Rudradaman was no more. His successors were not strong enough to face Kanishka's military thrust into Sind - Sauvira as also over Malwa. It is equally likely that the conquest of the Malwa region might have been a later event in Kushana history. In this context a record of Vaskushana[44] of the year 22, who was a Rajan, also deserves consideration.

Numismatic Evidence :

The numismatic evidence relating to Kanishka's date is more decisive. It is confind to the finds of coins of Kushana rulers in treasure troves[45] along with those Roman rulers whose dates are known, or nearly known. So also the types of coins issued by the Kushana rulers based on a particular pattern or patterns and corresponding to a set weight to cater for commercial and trade requirements, as also their later imitations, and the use of the cursive Greek in legends on their coins, are relevant in this context. The earliest find was the treasure trove in the Ahinposh stupa[46] providing ample material for the study relating

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to the date of Kanishka. The coins found here included 6 of Vima Kadphises, 10 of Kanishka and 1 of Huvishka along with the Roman coins - one each of Domitan (A.D. 81-96), Trajan (A.D. 98-117) and Sabina (A.D. 128-137). These coins must have been brought by some trader and buried there after A.D. 137 and in the time of Huvishka. The coins must have taken some time to travel, roughly a couple of decades.[47] According to Macdowall, the aureus of Sabina must have been struck after A.D. 128 and before A.D. 137 the year of her death. So, taking the extreme limits, the year of the deposit must fall after 128. The coin must have been in circulation for some time before its export, as it is pretty worn out. This suggests that the deposit was not made before c. A.D. 160.

Gobl's analysis[48] of the coin types of the Kushanas shows that several types were ultimately derived from Roman and Alexandrian prototype ; and that those of Kanishka come principally from coins struck under Hadrian, while those of Huvishka under Antonius Pius. This numismatic evidence is not troubled by any possible dispute about the era to which the date in any inscription should be referred to, and it is not based on any pre-supposition about the commencing date of any other North Indian era. Its synchronisms are based for the most part on the definitive and demonstrable chronology of the Roman empire. In the three finds - the other two being at Taxila-stupa No. IV, and Manikiyala, Courts Tope- in which associated Roman coins were also found, the internal evidence of the Indian coins points clearly to a definite stage in the Indo-Scythic-Kushan sequence at which each find was deposited. The associated Roman coins, thus, fix the chronological term[49] in of each deposit within a decade or so. According to Macdowall,

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'The cumulative evidence of the three finds is remarkably coherent and fits in remarkably closely with the other chronological indications to be drawn from the Roman head coins of Kujula, the introduction of a Pahlavi legend by Abdagases, and the origin of Sino-Kharoshti series in Khotan. The numismatic evidence in fact supports the date proposed by Van Vijk of A.D. 128/29 for the start of the era of Kanishka. This is of course not by itself sufficiently precise to exclude Ghirshman's date in A.D. 144 or a date as early as A.D. 110.

Other factors concerning the coinage of Kanishka and his successors noticed earlier by several scholars are : the titles used and Greek writings, weight of coins and foreign influence. These issues were considered at length by the advocates of the Vikrama and the Saka era theories. The weight of gold coins of the Kanishka group conforming to a standard adopted in Rome has been considered earlier. The absence of the letter H from the coins of Huvishka, though present on other coins, both of Kharosta, Kharaostes and of Nahapana was due to Roman influence. This is equally evident from the heads on the obverse of Nahapana's coins.[50] The use of Greek legends and Greek alphabets by Kanishka and his successors was also taken into consideration by these scholars.[51] It is proposed that the change over from the unicals to a beautiful cursive script, which alone was employed by Kanishka's successors, bears close resemblance to the cursive of the very early Roman papyri.[52] This aspect of numismatic evidence in trying to settle Kanishka's date is obsolete, and has little relevance in the discussion. It is now an established fact that Kanishka line succeeded the Kadphises group. Some other points relating to Kushana numismatics relate to the copying

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of their coinage by the Sassanids on the one hand and the early Gupta rulers on the other one.

G. Bataille in the second part of his paper entitled 'Notes sur la numismatique des Kushanas et des Kushansh-Sassandes'[53] considers the identification of Po-tiao with Vasudeva as difficult to be set aside taking into consideration the document cited by Luders.[54] He fixes the epoque of the coinage of Vasudeva near about A.D. 220. Moreover the coins of Vasudeva and those of the Sassanids do not show much difference. The real difference is only of a general peculiarity. The king is to the right, Siva on the reverse, curly hair of the Iranian type, beard and long hair form a mass at the back. The king puts on Sassanid helmet or crown. All the coins of Vasudeva represent the king and Siva, bearded and without the mass of hair on the back. The author admits that the series of Vasudeva's coins represent a very notable evolution of the stater of Kanishka and Huvishka. He draws attention to a coin (article Pl. IIIa) which is hardly different from that of Vasudeva except for the legend showing that it was of Hormazd I, who before A.D. 272, the date of his accession to the throne, was king of Khorasan. This country was conquered by Ardeshir from the last sovereign of the country whose coin type he borrowed. Evidently it was the stater of Vasudeva. According to Herzfeld,[55] who made a special study of Indo-Sassanian coins, the Sassanian rulers assumed the title Kushana Shahanshah (the king of the kings of Kushanas) on their coins from about A.D. 230 to 248. The Sassanid viceroys at Khorasan who copied the Kushana coins included Pervez (brother of Sapur I. He struck the silver and bronze coins of the Sassanid types and has the figure of Buddha on certain coins. From

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253 to near about 273, Hormazd struck coins of diverse metals constituting on the one part the Sassanid type issues and on the other the local coinage of the Kushanas. The Kushana staters continued to be struck after 273 by Varaharan I, II and III.[56]

According to Ghirshman,[57] the coins of Vasudeva were the latest found at Begram. The city was restored by Sapur I between A.D. 241 and 250. As Vasudeva ruled between the years 74-98, it is presumed by Ghirshman that the foundation of Kanishka's era would fall in cir A.D. 144. He asserts that historic sources confirm very happily the numismatic and archaeological observations. The Chinese text San-kouo-teche mentions a king Po-tiao, identified with Vasudeva I, who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230 and received the title of the king of the Grand Yueh-chih. He is also identified with Vehsadjan or Vehsadjen who joined the confederacy formed by the Armenian Khusru I against Ardeshir after his victory on Arbatan.

The Indian Numismatic Evidence :

The Indian side of the numismatic evidence is provided by the coins of Gupta rulers who copied Kushana coinage on their standard type of coins.[58] According to Smith, the gold coinage of the early Gupta king was based on that of the Kushanas and ultimately on the Roman money. They continued the weight of the Roman aurei in imitation of Kushana issues. This imitation can be traced in the motif of the king offering oblation at an altar wearing the close-fitting long coat and trousers, and, as on the Kushana coins, the king's head is surrounded by a halo, to the left of which is a crescent. The king's name is written in vertical. In the left hand, the king holds a standard bound with a fillet as on the Kushana coins. The reverse of the standard

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type is a closer imitation of the Ardoxo type.[59]

The imitation of the coinage of the Kushanas both in type and in weight naturally suggest the gap between the end of the Kushana dynasty and that of the Gupta one was not much. The Guptas did not follow the pattern of the Andhra Gautamiputra Satakarni stamping his name on the coins of Nahapana. Further, the succeeding or the successful dynasty would not care to imitate the coinage of an obsolete predecessor but only of the immediate one for political as well as for commercial reasons. In fact, the numismatic evidence brings the Kushanas and the succeeding Gupta's closer to each other at the eastern end of the Kushana empire as were the Kushanas and the Sassanids at the western end of their empire. Moreover, Samudragupta reference to the Daivaputra Shahanushahi - the title borne by the Kushana rulers - evidently points to the remnants of the Imperial Kushanas. It cannot, however, be suggested that the dynasty lingered on with non-entities for about 150 years, in case Kanishka started his reign in A.D. 78 and Vasudeva the last ruler of this dynasty ended his rule in about A.D. 175. It is, therefore, very likely that Kanishka's family ruled from the middle of the second to the middle of the third centuries A.D., followed by the Later Kushanas who too may have ruled for about 75 years and the contemporaneity of the Kushana rulers with Samudragupta can then be established.

P.L.Gupta in his paper entitled the 'Coinage of the Local kings of Northern India' and the Date of Kanishka contributed to the London Conference[60] suggests on the basis of the finds of Kushana coins in excavations from Mathura, Ayodhya, Kausambi and Ahichchetra, along with those of the local rulers,

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suggests that the approximate dates A.D. 145 (from Mathura), 145-152 (from Kausambi), 158 from Ayodhya and 150-163 from Ahichhetra when the Kushanas seem to have entered into the Ganga-Yamuna valley. He proposes that the date A.D. 144 suggested by Ghirshman is very near to our conclusions. 'If the arguments adduced in favour of this date from the archaeology of Afghanistan and Central Asia are not weighty enough in themselves, the present conclusions based on numismatics offer strong support from the Indian side'.

Indian Archaeology, the Gandhara Art and the Date of Kanishka :

Marshall's excavations at Taxila[61] have finally set at rest the controvercy raised by Fleet and Kennedy, and earlier by Cunningham in putting Kanishka in 58 B.C. and before the Kadphises group. His remarks in this context are worth noting. 'The original masonry of the Kanishka stupa at Peshawar' says Sir John, 'is of a type which at Taxila, at any rate was unknown in the Saka-Pahlava period, but is parallel there in the buildings of the second century A.D. He further points out, 'At Manikiala, the great stupa erected during Huvishka's reign is similar in all its details, its dwarfed pilasters, degenerate corinthian capitals, levelled torus mouldings, notched Indian brackets, and the like to monuments of the second and third century A.D. at Taxila.'[62] The stratification and the type of masonry suggest that a period in the second century A.D. would suit better, according to Marshall.

Kanishka's relation to Gandhara art is supposed[63] to shed light on his dates. In this context Marshall views[64] the relic casket with an inscription of Kanishka, dated in the year 1, according to Sten Konow, should be attributed to the decadent or to the final period of Kushana history. This date is as well

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questioned[65] by some scholars. Gandhara art, as such, did not develop, according to Marshall, under the great Kushana emperor. According to Barnett,[66] Kanishka was associated with the beginning of Gandhara art, while according to Smith,[67] the art had attained its highest development during the reign of Kanishka. Spooner and Vogel presumed[68] that its flourishing period had passed away before the time of this ruler. Foucher,[69] however, placed Kanishka in the middle period, while Waddel doubted[70] if the crude and debased style and workmanship of Kanishka's coins and the relic casket could in any way sustain Smith's view. It is difficult to associate Kanishka with the efflorescence or the decadence of Gandhara art. In this context, it is not possible to ignore the Hastnagar Pedestal, the Loriyan pedestal and the Sakardarra image of Hariti, all bearing inscriptions dated in the years 318, 384 and 399 respectively of the old era. These art specimens are considered as good in style. Are we then to presume that in view of the Kanishka's casket of a much inferior artistic order and the debased Kushana coins equally inferior to those of the previous Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian ruling families, the Gandhara art underwent a period of decline under the Kushanas followed by its subsequent revival later on ? In the light of the above observations it is difficult to associate Kanishka's date with any degree of precision and certainty in the evolution or declension and decline. Bussagli[71] , however, suggests that the religuary belongs to Kanishka II, although this sovereign, who is known to us through one inscription only, seems to have been a personality of secondary importance. This hypothesi is taken to be merely theoretical.. He further proposes that the inferior quality of the work does not necessarily indicate that it belonged to a

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late epoch. The various objections are not very deeply rooted. The reliquary marks a particular stage in the art of Gandhara ; a stage when many iconographic elements are already established while the classical influence is still deeply felt (as for instance the figure of the amorini holding the wreath) though mingled with other elements of Parthian-Kushana style or of other styles, less easily recognizable. He as well suggests that the attribution to the time of Kanishka of the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri reliquary gives us no help in establishing the chronology of the ruler, even if on principle we can indicate the second half of the first and the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Considering however the additional data, he is inclined towards a later period. Finally, he admits that after more than a century of study and research, the solution of the fascinating riddle of the Great Kanishka and of his reign, continues to be one of the most controversial problems in the history of art.

The Mathura art and its relation to the date of Kanishka is discussed by Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw in her Paper entitled 'Kaniska and Recently Published Images' contributed to the London Conference.[72] She notices the sculpture which date from the Late Kushana and early Post-Kushana period, adding considerably to our knowledge of the stylistic developments during this period, particularly in respect of the evolution of the Buddha image. In her opinion, the relationship between Mathura and Amravati provides an indication for the date of Kanishka. The former was the source from which Amravati borrowed its presentation of the Master. She reconciles the art - historical facts by accepting a starting date of the Kanishka era in the second-half of the 1st century, more precisely about the year A.D. 80. As against

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the date proposed by the late Dutch Professor, John M. Rosenfield[73] in his paper entitled 'The Ma-thura School of Sculpture' prpposes a date of ca. A.D. 110-115 for the beginning of Kanishka's reign. He does agree that it is possible to establish a positive basis for the history of North Indian sculpture for the third century A.D., something of which past historians have despaired. Rosenfield as well provides[74] a schematic summary of the history of the Kushanas in India proper from the conquest of Taxila and the Western Punjab by ca. A.D. 50, the consolidation of Kushana power in the Doab by ca. A.D. 100, accession of Kanishka ca. 110-115 ; a period of dynastic difficulties and external pressures ca. 130-50; the splitting of the dynasty into two parts after the end of Vasudeva's reign ca. 210-15 ; the period of Sassanian incursions ca. 226-260, the loss of the Eastern Punjab and the region around Delhi to the Yaudhyas and other tribal allies ca. 250, the loss of upper Gangetic region including Mathura to the Nagas of Padmavati ca.275; the loss of Bactria-Badakshan, Kapisa and the Upper Kabul valley to the Sassanians by c. 300; the loss of lower Kabul valley, Gandhara and Taxila to Shapur II ca. 358, and finally the extinction of all traces of Indo-Scythian autonomy in North Central India by 350, and in Western India (Malwa and Gurjaradesa by 400).

Astronomical Data :

The astronomical data from some of the Kushana records have also been noticed by several scholars[75] - Indian and Western - in trying to fix up the date of Kanishka's era. The results, however, have been contradictory and as such inconclusive. P.C. Sen Gupta set up his theory on these calculations. According to his calculations, the era of Kanishka commenced on December 25

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of A.D. 79, or from the year 2 of the Saka era which satisfies all the conditions arising from the data provided in the Kharoshthi inscriptions, Group B of Sten Konow. He further presumes that Kanishka lived at the beginning of the Saka era, a view which need be endorsed by all right-minded historians. The same data were earlier utilised by D.N.Mukherji. In his view the Kushana era founded by Kanishka should be identified with the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. In view of the contradictions based on the same data it would not be advisable to take the astronomical evidence into account, as the same phenomenon occurs after a number of years in cycle.[76] In this context a few sutras from Panini's Ashtadhyayi may be quoted here. The first one runs as - Sasmin Paurnamasi-iti (4-2-29). This explains that the month Pausha is that in which Pushya Nakshatra falls on the full moon day. The denomination of the month on the basis of the Nakshatra on the full moon day is equally true of the month Chaitra. There is another sutra Nakshatrena Yuktakalena (4-2-3) indicating that a day or night is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with it during that time. Thus, Pushya, Tishya, Magha etc. are lunar asterisms, when the full moon is in any of these asterisms then the necessary affix is added to the name of the asterism in order to denote the month through the time of such a conjunction. Accordingly, it may be suggested that Ashadena Nakshatra should be on the full moon day of Ashadha, and Chitra Nakshatra on the full moon day of the month of Chaitra.

Now taking the astronomical data furnished by the Zeda and the Und inscriptions, we may find out if on the 20th day of the month of Ashadha in the case of the first record we have Uttara-Phalguni Nakshatra and on the 8th day of the month of Chaitra in the case of the latter one, we have Purvashadha Nakshatra. Thus,

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counting from Mula, next to Jyeshtha which was on the full moon day of the month of Jyeshtha, we find that the 21st Nakshatra is Uttara-Phalguni, and not 20th as given in the inscription. This can be explained by the fact that two consecutive nakshatras may sometimes fall on the same day. So that on the 20th day, the Uttara Phalguni Nakshatra may have occured. In the other case as well counting the same way from the Hasta, next to Uttara-Phalguni Nakshatra which occurs on the full moon day of the month of Phalguna, we find that the eighth Nakshatra is Purvashadha.

It would thus appear that astronomical calculations are not at all helpful in arriving at a definite conclusion regarding the date of Kanishka. Sten Konow with the help of Wan Wijk carried on a number of calculations in trying to fix up the initial date of the old era, with varying results. The same can be said about the attempt to fix up the initial date of Kanishka's era on the basis of the astronomical data from the Kushana records. The evidence as such is unreliable and inconclusive.

Chinese Sources :

While references to Kanishka in the Chinese Annals of the First and the Second Han Dynasty are missing, since the events after A.D. are not recorded in the Hou-Han-Shu, there are some notices of Kanika-Kanishka in later Chinese texts. Such notices were brought together by Sylvain Levi.[77] The Kalpana-manditika of Kumaralata in its Chinese translation composed shortly after the reign of Kanishka refers to Chen-tan-ni-cha in the family of Kiu-sha who conquered Tung-Tien-Chu and pacified the country. Levi and Herber identify this part of the country with Eastern India. According to the text, the fame of the ruler spread far and wide, completing his good fortune. Finally, he returned to

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his country by the route which passed through a broad flat land. Chen-tan is identified with Chandana, an old designation of Khotan according to Sarat Chandra Das. The above mentioned statement relating to Kanishka is compared to the one relating to Maharaja Kanikalekha - Kanishka of the Kusa race. Sten Konow suggests on the basis of this identification that Kanishka came from Khotan.[78] The late Norwegian Professor infers from the two sources that the Indian Kushanas, sometimes after Vima Kadphises' death, tried to strengthen their position by joining hands with their cousins beyond the Pamir. The result was grand consolidation of Kushana power and the introduction of a new era which might have been used both in Turkestan and in India.[79]

Sylvain Levi brought to light another reference[80] to Kanishka and his vast empire. Sangharaksha, the Chaplan of the Kushana king, was a native of Surashtra (Siu-lai or Siu-lai-na.) He lived 700 years after the Buddha and he proceeded to Gandhara (Kien-t'o-yue) in order to meet King Kanika. But he found him away in the north-west engaged in a war with the ruler of China. The clash between the Kushanas and the Chinese is also referred to with reference to the exploits of Pan-Chao and Pan-Yung.[81] The proposal for the hand of a Chinese princess, sent through an envoy, his arrest followed by a military expedition under Sei, his subsequent defeat and destruction and finally the offer of tribute, are supposed by some scholars to refer to Kanishka; and all this happened in the year A.D. 90.[82] This aspect of Kushano-Chinese relations has been considered earlier with reference to Vima Kadphises. This piece of evidence neither sheds light on the date of Kanishka, nor does it bring out the humiliating position of the Kushana emperor. The tradition[83] about Kanishka subduing all the neighbour-

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ing states and bringing into obedience people of distant countries, and receiving hostages from those regions whom he kept with singular attention, Kindness and consideration, runs contrary to the account given in the earlier tradition. The account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsiuen-tsang in this context seems to carry more weight on this point of Kanishka's might and the vastness of his empire, even though it has nothing to suggest about his date precisely. Further, Sylvain Levi relates from a Chinese source, the Fu-tsang-Yin Yuan-Chuan, a narration referring to an expedition to the North during which Kanishka was murdered.[84] Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw presumes[85] that the compaign is the same as that related by Pan-Chao and similarly noticed by the Chinese pilgrim in the seventh century A.D. Pulleyblank,[86] however, proposes that the Chinese evidence does not help in enabling scholars to come to any conclusion regarding occupation of Kashgar by Kanishka. If there was any such occupation it could not have taken place before A.D. 175.

Attention to some passages from twelve Chinese texts translated by Maspero was drawn by H.C.Ghosh[87] more than sixty years back. Kanishka's name does not figure in these texts. The Ta-Yueh-chi king, according to Ghosh, was not Kanishka. The edifying ~~chance~~ Buddhist texts would never have missed the chance of associating the name of the great emperor with the formal introduction of Buddhism in China. There is of course a reference to Po-tiao in the San-Kuo-Chih section Wei-Chih Chap III. p. 32. He sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230, and received the title 'King of the Ta-Yueh-Chi allied to the Wei'. According to Chavannes,[88] Po-tiao can very well be the rendering of Vasudeva ; and if such be the case then it should be possible to fix the beginning of Kanishka's era approximately between

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A.D. 130 and 170.[89] Ghirshman takes it to be a very decisive piece of evidence in fixing Kanishka's era in A.D. 144. Those associating Kanishka with the Saka era of 78 A.D. identify this ruler with Vasudeva II of the Later Kushana family.[90] On this point one has to take into account the prowess of the Later Kushanas and the extent of their empire. It may, however, be mentioned in this context that except for a few isolated pieces of coins, the very existence of this ruler could be a matter of extreme doubt. According to Ghirshman, once again, the latest coin found in Begram were those of Vasudeva I.[91] It might therefore be reasonably presumed that the Kushana ruler Po-tiao, identified with Vasudeva was the third Kushana ruler of Kanishka's line, namely Vasudeva I whose records are found between the dates 67-98.[92] He is called Ta-Yueh-Chi in this Chinese reference because all the tribes, including the Kuei-Chuang, were called by that name in the Chinese annals.

A Resume :

The information relating to the fixation of Kanishka's date of accession and his foundation of an era has been considered in full on the basis of available sources. Conferences and Seminars have only exchanged notes without arriving at a consensus. Even the finds of two inscriptions from Kamra and Surkh-Kotal have not been helpful in this context. They appear to be valuable in fixing the chronology of the Later Kushanas or the relationship and conjoint rule of Kanishka, Vasishka and Huvishka with a possible division of the empire. The occidental scholars are more inclined in placing Kanishka in the second century A.D., of course, with a few exceptions. Those in India, again with a few exceptions,

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are in favour of the Kanishka and the Saka era theory. Their main argument is that we know of no era in the second century A.D. and Kanishka's clash with Rudradaman was not a fact to be ignored in his Junagarh inscription, if the two were more or less contemporaries. Further, they contend that Vima Kadphises, succeeding an octogenarian father, could not have ruled for a longer time, and a period between A.D. 64-78 is enough for him, and he was immediately succeeded by Kanishka. The reference to Po-tiao is explained as pointing to the Later Kushana ruler Vasudeva II.

On the other hand, it can as well be presumed that Kanishka's era might be only regnal one, very probably with omitted hundreds, and this was continued by the Later Kushana rulers as well. We have not found any record of Kanishka and his successor in three digits. Further, a period of 14 years is too short for Vima Kadphises. The Taxila record of the Kushana ruler with the titles 'Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra' appears to be Vima Kadphises and not his father Kujula Kadphises. Moreover it is not improbable that the son of the octogeneranian could be a youngman of 30 or 35 years who equally enjoyed longevity like his father. Kanishka's clash with Rudradaman need not be an established fact, if the former is placed in A.D. 144. In that case he conquered upper Sindh after the death of the Saka Mahakshatrapa and a ruler in his own right. The Kushana hold over Malwa which as well formed part of Rudradaman's kingdom was equally an event happening after the death of Rudradaman. The two inscriptions of Vasishka of the year 22 and 28 from Sanchi could as well be associated with the Later Kushana group of

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rulers. The reference to Po-tiao in the Chinese source fits in well with Vasudeva I whose coins were found at Begram. The name sake of the Later Kushana group was no so prominent nor his empire so vast as to call for alliance with the Wei.

It would therefore be safer to place Kanishka I in the second century A.D. and his group ruled from the middle of the second to the middle of the third century A.D., followed by the Later Kushanas, who were contemporaries of the Early Guptas. They are called Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This chronological framework of the Kushanas would as well obviate the possibility of a dark period, as supposed by Vincent Smith, between the Kushana and the Gupta periods of ancient Indian History.

Kanishka and his Conquests :

Kanishka's conquests do not appear to be a single-phased affair. The find spots of his inscriptions, dated in the year 2 at Kosam (Allahabad dist.)[93], 3 at Sarnath (Varanasi)[94], 4 onwards at Mathura[95], 11 at Suivihar (Bhawalpur)[96] and Zeda (Und)[97], 18 at Manikiala (Rawalpindi)[98] are suggestive of the Kushana empirers' conquests in two stages - towards the east as far as Varanasi in the first phase, and south-west comprising Sindh and Multan in the second phase - or the next decade. There is no reference to the rulers encountered in these compaigns. The reference to Kharapallana and Vanaspara - rather two unusual names as Kshatrapas with the former holding the higher designation with the prefix maha points to their appointments at heads for the newly conquered territory. The Zeda inscription refers to Kshatrapa Liaka and the Manikiala one notices the Kapisa Kshatrapa, son of Kshatrapa Gramavhryaka. The hold over Punjab and Sindh was complete in

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the second decade of Kanishka's reign. Literary evidence from the Rajatarangini[99], Kalpanamanditika[100] and the Chinese Later Annals[101] are supposed to adduce evidence relating to the hold of Kanishka over Khotan, Kashmir, and Tung-li and Pan-Chao supposed to be some parts of Central and South-western India according to Thomas. The Kushana's hold over south-west India is supposed to be based on the identification of Sandanes of the Periplus with Kanishka. These aspects of Kanishka's conquest demand separate treatment, as also Kanishka's control of Bihar which seems probable from the finds of his coins in that part,[102] Huvishka's Bodh Gaya plague from Patna, and the reference in the Sridharma-Pitaka-nidanasutra[103] (translated into Chinese in A.D. 472), to the defeat of the king of Pataliputra. The treaty with the defeated ruler involved a large booty, but Kanishka agreed to have in lieu of it Asvaghosha, the great philosopher-poet, Buddha's alm's bowl and a naturally compassionate cock. The association of Asvaghosha with Kanishka is a well-known fact. These conquests of extended over a long period, may be some twenty years or so, and was probably in several phases and in a planned manner.

The first phase, as proposed earlier, included the conquest of India and the foundation of the era, as the lawful Kushana ruler after the intruders including Jihonika in the north-west and the Saka-Kshatrapas in the south-west had thrown off the yoke of Kushana sovereignty. The conquest of mid-India was in the same breadth within the first two three years. The second phase covered southern Punjab and Sindh, while in the last one he concentrated on Kashmir and Khotan. The last one seems to have resulted in the integration of those Central Asian powers which were previously weak and loose. He might have

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availed of the help of one or more such states in his conquest of India, as suggested in Tibetan sources cited earlier. This scheme reminds of the similiar one framed a few centuries earlier by Chandragupta Maurya who had sought the help of Parvataka, according to the Mudrarakshasa of Kautilya. As usual, the ally too was not spared in the end. The three probable phases of Kanishka's conquests and their probable times may now be considered in detail.

Kanishka and Eastern India :

Kanishka's empire seems to have extended to the east of Sarnath where the inscriptions recording dedications made by Friar Bala were found. The reference to the Kshatrapa Vanaspara and Mahakshatrapa Kharapallana suggest that Sarnath-Varanasi must have been the headquarters for the eastern zone of his empire. It is natural to presume that this administrative seat was at the centre and not at the extreme fringe of his empire. The expansion of Kushana empire under Kanishka as far as Bihar is evidence from numerous coins of this ruler and his successors found in that region. Reference has already been made to Sridharma-Pitaka-nidanasutra in its Chinese translation rendered in A.D. 472 which mentions Chen-t'an-Kia-ni-cha defeating the king of Pataliputra and demanding a large indemnity. He, however, agreed to accept the Buddha's alms bowl, the philosopher Asvaghosha and a naturally compassionate cock instead. It is proposed that the conquest of the east was a turning point in the career of Kanishka and his adherence to Buddhism at the advice of Asvaghosha.

The Kushana hold over Bihar beginning from Kanishka's time is confirmed by the finds of Kushanas coins. Spooner

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in the course of excavations at Pataliputra[104] found many Kushana coins of which the provenance extended to Asura in the Ranchi district.[105] Three Kushana coins were found in north Bengal[106] while gold coins of Kanishka were unearthed at Tamluk and Mahasthana, the sites of ancient Tamralipti and Pundravardhana. The inclusion of Bihar in the Kushana empire in the time of Huvishka is evident from the Bodh Gaya plaque.

As regards the king or tribe ousted by Kanishka,[107] Ptolemy refers to a tribe called Maroundai which was located on the left bank of the Ganga, south of the Gogra to the top of the delta. The tribe was identified by Sylvain Levi[108] with the Murundas, Chinese Mao-lun.[109] According to Allan, there is considerable evidence to show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Murunda kingdom was a powerful one, covering the greater part of the Ganga valley. It is no doubt difficult to identify the ruler. The title Murodasa Marjhakasa is attributed to Kanishka in the Zeda inscription. It is difficult to propose if the said epithet signified Kanishka's conquest over the Murundas.

The extent of the Kushana empire in the east and south-east might have touched the borders of Bengal and North Orissa. The Puri-Kushana coins issued by the off-shoots of the Kushana Murunda tribes who were previously lords of Bihar might be taken as an indication of the impact which the Kushana rule in Bihar had on the local tribes. The identification of the Murundas with the Scythic or Kushana people by Sylvain Levi might not be acceptable, but the emigration of the former from their original homeland as a result of the extension of the Gupta rule might have been an established fact. A large number of

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copper coins of the Kushana kings were found at Tamluk[110] (Midnapur dist.), Mayurbhanj and at Sisupalagarh suggesting that these formed parts of the Kushana empire.

Kanishka and Central Asia :

The find spots of the inscriptions and their dates suggest that Kanishka first went to the Ganges country and then retraced his steps westwards. Sten Konow proposed that he returned to his own country probably Khotan where he and his successors were acknowledged as the suzerains of the vast Kushana empire, including Khotan as well. This statement seems to be based on the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang,[111] who refers to Kanishka governing by his vast army a wide territory even to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains. He also mentions the Chinese Asian princess being kept as hostages by the Kushana emperor. Fresh light on this point is thrown by H.W.Bailey[112] who traces reference to a king Chandra-Kanishka of the kingdom of Bahlaka, in a Khotanese manuscript. Further, at that time there arose in that kingdom in Tokaristan, a brave meritorious intelligent king of Jambudvipa, named Chandra-Kanishka. Although it is difficult to make bold assertions on the basis of the name-sake evidence, it seems likely that Kanishka's empire extended as far as Balkh and Khotan.[113] The archaeological evidence from Central Asia might as well be taken into context. Tolstov suggests on the basis of the finds at Toprak-Kala and some other sites in Khorzen (Uzbegistan) that it formed part of the Kushana empire. The contention is based on the discovery of several copper coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva in Khorzen[114] (ancient Chorasmia)

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as also the Gandhara artistic influence on sculptures and paintings in the palace at Toprak-Kala.

Ghirshman as well presumed[115] that Khotan formed part of the Kushana empire, with his vassals Varshmana and Amgoka ruling there on his behalf. The late French scholar as well credited Kanishka conquering Sogdiana, basing his contention on the discovery of a Kharoshthi inscription at Termez, the influence of Kushana art on sculptures at Airtam and Termez and finally the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shapur I. This record of the Sassanian rule narrates his first success : his victorious army seized Peshawar, the winter capital of the Kushana king, occupied the Indus valley, and pushing north, crossed the Hindukush, conquered Bactria, crossed over the Oxus and entered Samarkand and Tashkent. According to Ghirshman, once again, the Kushana dynasty founded by the great Kanishka, was deposed and replaced by another line of princes who recognised the suzerainty of the Persians and ruled over a state considerably reduced in area.[116] The boundaries of the Kushana empire, proposed by Ghirshman, extended from Meru to Khotan and to Sarnath, and from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of Oman. This vast Kushana empire continued to be under their hold till the time of Vasudeva.

The reference to a lord of Wakhan and Kharasalera visiting Mathura and creating a perpetual endowment in the time of Huvishka is suggestive of Kushana domination over that region. The find of Huvishka's record at Wardak (30 miles to the west of Kabul) is equally helpful in assessing Kushana's domination over areas in Afghanistan and even beyond. The reference to

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the Kushana rulers - Kanishka, Huvishka and Jushka in the Rajatarangini establishes their hold over Kashmir. The identification of Chentan Kanishka with king Chandra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription, as proposed by R.C.Majumdar,[117] who is described as conquering the land of the Vahlikas, after having crossed the seven mouths of the river Indus, is uncalled for in this context. It may, however, be surmised on the basis of the available evidence that Kanishka after conquering Kashmir, might have retired to his original kingdom at Khotan, leaving the administration of his vast empire into the hands of his sons or Kshatrapas in Northern India.

It was contended by Aurel Stein in his Serindia[118] that the far-spread use of Kharoshti and an early Prakrit was partly a result of the political influence which the powerful Indo-Scythian dominion established both north and south of the Hindu-Kush exercised for a time in the Tarim Basin during the early centuries of the Christian era. Even more important was the cultural influence which must have accompanied the Buddhist propaganda carried eastwards from the Oxus region about the same period. This led Sten Konow to suggest[119] that there are certain indications to the effect that the Kushanas exercised considerable influence in Eastern Turkestan in the first centuries of the Christian era. He corroborates this with reference to several names containing the word Kushana in the Kharosthi documents showing remarkable correspondence with Indian Kushana inscriptions and coins on the titles used and in the arrangement of the data. The Kushana hold over Khotan in Central Asia seems very probable. Sten Konow noticed the possibility of Kanishka actually returning to Khotan and assuming the suzerainty there.

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Kanishka and Western India :

Kanishka's conquest of Western India, including Sindh, seems evident from the Sui-vihar inscription[120] of the year 11 of his era. The Kushana hold is confirmed by the finds of 1438 copper coins of Vasudeva at the site of Buddhist stupa and monastery at Mohenjo-Daro.[121] Further, the location of a few potsherds bearing Kushana letters at Tordher in the Thal Valley, District Loralai, Baluchistan, led Sten Konow to presume that there was a further expansion of the Kushana power under Kanishka or one of his successors. The palaeography of inscriptions makes one inclined to think of Yola Mira of this record as a local governor or chief, probably under Kushana overlordship. It has been suggested earlier that Kanishka's hold over Sindh and western India followed Rudradaman and not preceded his line. The wording of the Junagarh inscription is suggestive of Rudradaman's position as an absolute and independent ruler (Svayam-adhigata mahakshatrapa namna). This fact is accepted even by those scholars who consider Rudradaman to be a contemporary of Kanishka.[122] They, however, propose that the well-known boast of having acquired for himself the status of mahakshatrapa, provokes the question : acquired from whom ? This could be conveniently explained that he received recognition from the great Kushanas - most probably Kanishka. Further, besides Sindh, a similar problem arises about Akara (eastern Malwa) which was ruled both by Rudradaman and also by the Kushana ruler Vasishka.[123]

The contemporaneity of Kanishka with Rudradaman, as also the latter enjoying an absolute and independent status raises the question of their territories abutting on each other in western India and Sindh.[124] According to H.C.Ray Chaudhary, Rudradaman's mastery over Sindh and Sauvira (in the sense in

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which these terms were understood by the Puranas, the commentator on the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana, Hsuen-tsang and Alberuni, is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kanishka over Suivihar. It must have been under the control of Rudradaman, viewing his sway over ancient Sindh and Maru, and the clash with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawar.

While Raychaudhary takes this fact as a strong piece of evidence against Kanishka being placed in the second century A.D. and a contemporary of Rudradaman, it can be equally suggested that Kanishka's hold over Suivihar extending further south to include Sindh materialised when Rudradaman was no more. That would equally obviate the other difficulty relating to Vasishka's hold over Sanchi in the year 28, with Rudradaman's territory including Akara (Eastern Malwa). Apart from this, the extension of the Kushana empire in the south-west is also suggested as the basis of certain reference, noticed by Sylvain Levi.[125] He proposed that the Kushana empire extended in southern India, identifying Tung-li of the Chinese Late Annals whose author died in A.D. 445, but recorded events not later than A.D. 170, with the Dravidian country. According to Thomas,[126] there does not offer any secure ground for identification of the country of Tung-li with southern India. It could not have been situated in that part of the country, and its conquest by the Kushanas cannot be dated with certainty.

As regards the total void of reference to the Kushanas in the records relating to Gautamputra Satakarin, and in those relating to Rudradaman, who indubitably had Kushana contemporaries, the proposed explanation is that the Andhra ruler Gautamiputra who crushed the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas,

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who destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas and rooted out the Kshaharata family, restoring the glory of the Satavahanes had apparently not heard of the Kushanas or Tukharas. It is quite likely that Gautamiputra did not distinguish the Kushanas and the Sakas with whom he had been in conflict. A different explanation might be given in the case of Rudradaman who too does not mention the Kushanas in his Junagarh record. It was probably not to his interest, as a cultured Hinduised ruler, to refer to them more explicitly than by mentioning his promotion to the rank of mahakshatrapa. His successors whose dominions might have served as buffers between the Kushanas and the Deccan powers, might have experienced little or no interference from the former. The persistent indifference of the people of western and southern India in regard to the events in the north might have been a more general cause for missing reference to the Kushanas.[127]

As proposed earlier, Kanishka might not have a contemporary of Rudradaman whose territory extended upto Sindhu and Sauvira. It was only after his death that the Kushana emperor annexed Suivihar and pushed his conquest further south. It is quite likely that Yola Mira of the Tordherai record might have been owing allegiance to him as his Satrap (Kshatrapa), as presumed by Sten Konow. The question, therefore, of a clash between Kanishka and Rudradaman over Sindhu-Sauvira does not arise. Further, Rudradaman's assumption of the title <u>mahakshatrapa</u> signifying his independent and monarchial status has to be read in the context of his elevation to the higher post by the people of all castes whom he promised to protest. The mandate from the people rules out the possibility of his owing

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allegiance to Kanishka. It is, however, difficult to define the boundaries of the Kushana empire in the western and south-western sections. The Kushana ruler might have taken a substantial chunk of the north-western territory of Rudradaman after his death.

Kanishka and his Kshatrapas :

The epigraphic records of the period shed light on the administrative arrangements made by Kanishka for the proper governance of his far-flung empire. Among the provincial heads or feudal chiefs known as Kshatrapas or Mahakshatrapas were Vanaspara and Kharapalhana stationed at Sarnath.[128] The former was probably deputy to the latter who held the higher appellation. As there is no reference to a Mahakshatrapa in any Mathura record of the period, it may be presumed that Kharapallana had his headquarters at Mathura which was very likely the eastern capital of the Kushana empire. Among other Kshatrapas, Liaka (Zeda),[129] Vespasi (Manikiala)[130] and the Kshatrapa of Kapisa[131] who was the son of Kshatrapa Gramavhryaka, very probably a hereditary appointment. Kapisa is identified into Begram, while Zeda is in Afghanistan. There might have been a few more heads or feudal lords, probably one for the Indus valley area, and another in Kashmir. These formed parts of the Kushana empire in the time of Kanishka.

Kanishka, Asvaghosha and Buddhism :

Although a believer in eclecticism, as is evident from the portraits of divinities drawn from different pantheons on his coins, Kanishka was personally a Buddhist. He and his reign marked an epoch in the history of Buddhism. The Northern

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Buddhists cherishing his memory almost as much as of Asoka, had a tradition that this monarch was at first not an adherent of their religion, but reverend Sudarsana was instrumental in his conversion.[132] There is hardly any reference or the event responsible for his conversion, and only a few coins of this ruler depict Buddha ; the majority have other divinities. The grand stupa at Purushpura, described by the Chinese pilgrims, was set up by this ruler. This was located at Shah-ji-ki-dheri - the name of two large mounds - where Spooner carried out excavations in the years 1908-1909.[133] The relic chamber in the extensive remains of a large stupa contained a relic casket, decorated with a series of three seated Buddha figure, supported by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes, with large worshipping figures at intervals. The large group of figures represent king Kanishka standing between the Sun and the Moon, the Miro and Mao of Kanishka's coins. The name of Kanishka appears twice, probably first with the date (?)[134] and secondly with the vihara named after him. The inscription records dedication for the Sarvastivadins.

Kanishka's association with the Buddhist savants of the time and his patronage of Buddhism are recorded in Buddhist literature and tradition.[135] Sylvain Levi recorded the traditions in this context. According to the Sridharma-pitaka Sampradaya Nidana, Asvaghosha was taken from Magadha as a part of war indemnity by Kanishka. The ruler treated him kindly and with great respect. Asvaghosha advised him to atone for his sins and attain salvation by embracing Buddhism, which Kanishka gladly followed. The Patnarch became the ruler's friend and philosopher.[136] Kanishka name is also associated with the fourth Buddhist Council[137] which was held under the distinguished chairmanship of Parsva, the most

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distinguished and senior monk of the time. Kanishka's name as well figures in the colophen of the Mahavibhasha which was edited by 500 Arhats in his time.[138] So also Matricheta's letter to Kanika preserved in the Tibetan canon,[139] the Sutralankara of Asvaghosha of which fragments in original Sanskrit were published by Luders, the Kalpanamanditika of Kumaralata and Drishtanta-pankti of Asvaghosha and two reports translated by Levi in his Paper Notes Sur les Indo-Scythes[140] place in the scene. The contribution of the Buddhist council to Buddhist religious thought and literature, however, necessitates separate treatment and assessment in the Chapter entitled 'Religious Conditions in the Kushana Period'.

The End of Kanishka's rule and his Successor :

It is generally presumed that Kanishka ruled till the year 23 of his era and was succeeded by Vasishka,[141] his elder son, who ruled for a period of four years from 24-28, and was followed by Huvishka. Unfortunately no coin of this ruler has been found so far, but his position as a Kushana ruler is certain. Huvishka ruled between 28-62 of the Kushana era, but an intruder. The Kanishka of the Ara inscription[142] of the year 41 with his father's name Vajeshka as well noticed in the record, thirsts the gordian knot to the Kushana chronology. Vajeshka (Vasishka) is as well mentioned in the Kamra inscription[143] as the great king, the king of kings, great, saviour, victorious and the law of the living world. Further, the Surkh Kotal inscription[144] dated in the year 31, recording the sanctuary named after Kanishka, creates further complication to Kushana chronology. Some scholars, particularly Luders and Sten Konow, presumed that there was a

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division of the Kushana empire, but that does not solve the problem of chronological overlappings. The best course, however, is to place Vasishka and Kanishka of the Ara inscription in the group of Later Kushana rulers. The Kanishka of the other two records - Kamra and Surkh Kotal - seem to be identical with the Ara one. Vasishka could as well be identified with Rajan Vaskushana of Sanchi record of the year 22. He was an independent ruler and not his father's deputy as presumed by some scholars. In fact, it would be improper and inopportune for this young prince to assume regal status in the life time of his father. It may therefore be proposed that Kanishka ruled till the year 28 of his era[145] and was succeeded by his son Huvishka. Some legends recording the circumstances in which Kanishka met his end at the hands of his people were collected by Sylvain Levi, but it would be difficult to rely on them. The legends have hardly any evidentiary value except by way of corroboration of the primary source.

Huvishka :

The reign of Huvishka marks the brightest period of Kushana history. The finds of his inscriptions from the year 28-62, and his coins from Kapisa, Khorzem, Khotan, Begram and other sites in the north-west to Bihar in the east, are suggestive of an extensive empire which he inherited from his father and which he carefully preserved. The variety of his coins in gold and copper equally suggest that his period of rule was one of peace and prosperity.[146] The earliest inscription recording the name of this ruler is the famous Mathura record dated in the year 28 of the first day of Gurppiya (the Macedonian

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month Gorpiaios) corresponding to the Indian Proshtapada. It is the only known instance of the use of Macedonian month in a Brahmin inscription of the period. It is equally important in another way. It records the perpetual endowment by Kanaka-sarukumana, the lord of Kharasalera and also the lord of Vakana in the old hall of merit (Punyasala-Prachini) of 550 Puranas in each of the two guilds of flour-maker (samitakara) and probably corn-dealers (dhamnika). The two guilds were enjoined to bear expenses out of the interest that was to accrue from month to month, to provide food to a hundred Brahmanas in the hall, as also to leave enough food by way of charity for the indigent and the needy. The visit of this lord of Vakana or Badakshan to Mathura points to the extension of Huvishka authority to that part of Central Asia. It as well rules out any presumption of the division of the Kushana empire between Vasishka and Huvishka, supposed to be the two sons of Kanishka as proposed by Luders and Sten Konow.[147] The letter as well suggests that Huvishka might have been the actual conqueror of Kashmir, since his name comes first in Kalhana's reference to the Kushana rulers in his country where they as well founded three cities named after them.

Huvishka and his titles in records :

The inscriptions of the time of Huvishka range between the year 28-62 and the ruler bears the high-sounding titles maharaja, maharaja devaputra, devaputrashahi, maharaja rajatiraja devaputra,[148] and cover the area from Mathura to Wardhak in Afghanistan.[149] The intrusion of Kanishka of the Ara inscription in the year 41 has led some scholars to presume that Huvishka's

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position was that of a subordinate ruler till the year 40 and he declared his complete independence in that year, as is evident from the appellations Maharaja rajadhiraja devaputra. For a year his political career was eclipsed being ousted by Kanishka II of the Ara inscription. The subsequent inscriptions from the year 42 onward are suggestive of his complete grip over the Kushana empire. Basham, however, suggests[150] two Huvishkas, an uncle and a nephew preceding and following Kanishka of the Ara inscription. A period of dynastic troubles and intrigues among Kanishka, the great successors, seems to be very much in evidence. The best way to reconcile the conflicting situation is to shift Kanishka II of the Ara inscription, and his father Vasishka to the Later Kushana group of rulers. Further, many inscriptions with developed palaeographic features and sculptures associated with these records show an evolved form of sculptural designs. The suggestion for a later Kushana dynasty was mooted out much earlier in the early forties and a complete history of this set of rulers was traced and presented in sixties. The list of inscriptions associated with the Later Kushana seems to be growing in number. Rosenfield furnishes[151] this list by way of appendix to his paper entitled 'The Mathura School of Sculpture' contributed to the London Conference Paper.

Huvishka and his Religion :

Like his father Kanishka, Huvishka as well portrayed divinities drawn from different pantheons along with several new ones on his coins. He was drawn closer to Brahmanism if the portrayl of such Brahmanical divinities could be any indi-

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cation of it. Besides Siva and the goddess Nana (Amba) associated with him, Skanda, Kumara Visakha and Mahasena also figure on his coins. They might be four divinities as suggested by Bhandarkar[152] or three gods, or three different aspects of the same god i.e. Skanda, Kumara Visakha and Mahasena.[153] On the basis of legends on the copper coins of Huvishka in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, it is proposed[154] that Vishnu appears on some coins of this Kushana ruler. Hari Krishna Deb proposed[155] that Huvishka had adopted the epithet of Karttikeya. This religious feeling of Huvishka might be considered in the light of reference to devakula[156] mentioned in a record from Mat (Mathura). It enshrined the statue of the Kushana monarch who was the grand father (pitamah) of Huvishka. According to Sten Konow,[157] at Mat (Mathura) there was a gallery not of royal portraits, but rather a cluster of devakulas commemorating different Kushana rulers. Such devakulas looked exactly like temples and were erected to commemorate the memory of the departed kings.[158] The setting up of status of dead rulers was a ritual observed in ancient Kambuja as a part of the devaraja cult in ancient Cambodia. The reference to punyasala in the Mathura record of the year 28 of the time of this ruler with provision for feeding a hundred Brahmins daily out of the endowment made by a lord of Wakhan is equally notable in this context. In one or two coins, noticed by Cunningham,[159] this ruler is shown actually kneeling before the goddess Nana.

Huvishka was equally tolerant towards Jains and Buddhists and their religious establishments. The majority of inscriptions of his time are those of Jain dedications. A Buddhist inscription[160] of his time on the base of a pillar and dated in

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the year 47, records gift of the monk Jivaka, a native of Udiyana to the vihara of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Huvishka. This is analogous to Maharaja Kanishka's vihara mentioned in the Casket inscription from Shah-ji-ki-Dheri[161] (near Peshawar). Another Buddhist record of his time, namely the Wardak inscription[162] of the year 51, records the establishment of the relic of the Lord Sakyamuni in the Vagramarega Vihara, in a stupa. The root of bliss from this pious act was enjoined principally for Maharaja Rajatiraja Huvishka. It is thus evident from a study of the records as also from the coins of Huvishka that his personal disposition towards Brahmanism did not stand in the way of his broad-mindedness and spirit of toleration - ensuring full freedom to members of other religious denominations - Hindus, Buddhists and Jains.

Huvishka ruled till the year 62 of the Kushana era, though it is quite likely that his reign might have extended upto the year 65 or 66 as the earliest record of his successor Vasudeva[163] is dated in the year 67. There is no reference either to the break up or the division of the Kushana empire preceding his reign or following him, nor are the use of high-sounding appellations an indication of his supremacy or domination over any other scion of the Kushana family. The safest way to settle Kushana chronology is to place Kanishka of the Surkh-Kotal (Afghanistan) inscription[164] of the year 31, and another of the same Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41, in the list of Later Kushana rulers. There does not appear to be any intruder in his peaceful reign of 35 years or more, with an all-round activity and progress in different parts of the Kushana empire.

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Vasudeva :

Vasudeva, the last in the line of Imperial Kushana rulers reigned between the years 67 to 98 or 99 of the Kushana era. The name of this ruler is suggestive of his complete Indianisation. His coins as well suggest his adherence to the God Siva and the goddess Nana = Ambika. There are no other divinities portrayed on his coins. These coins were found in a large region, from Sahri Bahlol,[165] Jamalagarhi,[166] Sirkap and other places in Taxila,[167] and in the north at Airtam Termez,[168] Begram,[169] Khorezin,[169] and in the south-west in vast number at Mohenjo Daro and Jhukan. These are as well found at Kausambi, while his dated records are all from Mathura. Ghirshman found his coins in Begram II before the destruction of the town, said to have taken place between A.D. 220 and 230. These suggest that Vasudeva retained the vast empire inherited from his predecessor, probably his father Huvishka extended from Varanasi and even further in the east upto Afghanistan and parts of Central Asia in the north-west. Vasudeva is as well identified with Po-tiao,[171] who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230 and received from him the title -'King of the Ta-Yueh-Chih' - allied to the Wei as mentioned in the San-Kouo-tche. The identification is generally accepted although the supporters of the Saka era theory propose[172] that this Vasudeva was the later one, and not the descendant of Kanishka. According to Ghirshman,[173] who found at Begram coins of Vasudeva, being the latest ones. He identified Vasudeva with Vehsadjan mentioned by the Armenian Moses of Khorene. He is called the king of the Kushanas who at the accession of Ardeshir took part in the war against the Sassanids in a coali-

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tion headed by Khosru I of Armenia, from which he retired himself two years later.

The inscriptions of the time of this Kushana ruler range from the year 67-98 or 99 of the Kushana era. These records are connected mostly with Jain religious orders and dedications made for them by the pious laity. Two records connected with Buddhism, however, necessitate special attention. The first one is dated in the year 67,[174] in the second month of rainy season, in the reign of Maharaja Devaputra Vasudeva. It records the installation of an image of the Buddha for the acceptance of the Mahasanghikas. The other one[175] records dedication of the base of a pillar to the vihara of Maharaja Devaputra Huvishka by the monk Jivaka, inhabitant of Udiyana on the 4th day of the fourth month of summer in the year 77. The visit of the same monk to Huvishka's vihara on the same day thirty years later might have had some significance - either a special function connected with the vihara on its foundation day or some Buddhist celebration. This record as well suggests that there was free movement of traffic between Mathura and the north-west. There is another record[176] dated in the year 74 recording dedication by a Mahadandanayaka - a high administrative office. This last Kushana emperor of Kanishka's line ruled over a vast empire unfettered by any political factor. Some inscriptions record his full imperial title : Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra, Maharaja Rajatiraja Shahi, Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra[177] Vasudeva.

The End of the Family :

The Indianisation of the Kushanas was complete with the assumption of the Hindu name Vasudeva - the devotee of Vasudeva -

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Krishna. In a vast empire with an ethnic population of diverse religions and nationalities, the alignment of this last Kushana ruler with a particular religion - Hinduism, in sharp contrast to eclecticism practised by his predecessors, could have caused some ripples in the placid waters of the Kushana empire. The excavations at Begram[178] suggest the break up of the Kushana empire by the rising power and expansion of the Sassanids not too long after the time of Vasudeva. It was proposed by Maricq that the site of the discovery of 8 coins of Vasudeva was doubtful. It was not certain if these belonged to Begram II or III. He suggested[179] that the town was destroyed at the beginning of the reign of Vasudeva, and not at its end, as was postulated by Ghirshman. If the Sassanian invasion and destruction took place in the earlier days of Vasudeva I, it could have been partly due to his Indianisation more particularly in relation to his personal faith. At any rate, it seems certain that the extinction of the Kushana dynasty - though temporarily - could be traced in the north west, and it was at the hands of the Sassanians. Excavations at Begram - Kapisi - supposed to be the capital of the State of the Kushanas, to the north of Kabul revealed three occupational phases. The second one was abandoned as a result of destruction and fire. The coins found in that stratum were those of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva - indicating that the devastation happened in the time of the last ruler. After a short break of continuity in the occupation of the site, a new city with a different plan was built. The coins found here were those of the third Kushana family - the later Kushanas, and there is as well impact of the Sassanian art in this period.

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The clash between the Sassanids and the Kushana is recorded in the inscrition[180] on the walls of Kaba-i-Zardust or the Tomb of Zoraster at Naksh-i-Rustam near Persepolis. This inscription is trilingual, connectdd with Shapur I (241-272), written probably towards A.D. 262-263 and records his victory over the Romans. In this inscription there is a reference to the country of the Kushanas which was annexed by Shapur I. According to Ghirshman, Shapur provides here a list of the provinces that he had conquered during a great campaign against the Kushanas with his armies traversing Afghanistan, from the south towards the north in the direction of Sogdiana. Maricq however pointed out[181] that the utilization of the different documents remained delicate, for they were still insufficiently and indeed only partially published. The conclusions drawn by Ghirshman, as such, were not necessarily definitive. Maricq further mentioned that 'no where in this text of the inscription a campaign against the Kushanas is mentioned which would have led his army through Begram. The list of dignitaries of Ardeshir I includes -aKing of Margiana, a king of Carmania, and a king of the Sakas. It is therefore mentioned that Ardeshir had conquered Margiana, Carmania and the country of the Sakas or Seistan. Ghirshman, however, proposed that Ardeshir had not conquered the provinces that are enumerated immediately afterwards in the list, viz. Turan, Makran, Pardan, Sind and the country of the Kushanas, from Paskubur upto the borders of Kashgar, Sogdiana and Tashkent. These were Shapur's conquests. According to the Tabari passage, quoted by Maricq,[182] the kings of the Kushana, of Turfan and of Makran submitted without battle to Ardashir and kept their territories as vassals. The Kushans too might have submitted and

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were spared.

Reference is also made by Maricq to the destruction of the sanctuary of the temple of fire at Surkh Kotal, on the route from Kabul to Mazar-i-Sharif. Here three periods are traced - one of the construction of the temple, the second one associated with the old plan with additions. These met violent destruction as a result of conflagration by fire. The third one after this cataclysm was a modest construction with poor resources. Fourteen coins of the Great Kushanas - 7 of Kanishka and 2 of Huvishka, the rest being unidentified were found in the old clef or in the neighbourhood. Schlumberger attributed 183 the construction of the sanctuary to the Great Kushanas; and its destruction was the work of Ardeshir at the time of the conquest of Bactria. It resulted in the Kushan king acknowledging the suzerainty of this ruler, duly confirmed by the passage of Tabari. The destruction of the shrine at Surkh-Kotal happened, according to French scholar, in the time of Huvishka.

Taking into consideration the evidence from the Armenian source - Moses of Khorene who speaks of Vehsadjan (Vasudeva), king of the Kushanas, joining a coalition against Ardeshir I on his accession, and returning two years later ; and the San-Kou-tche referring to Po-tiao sending missions to the Chinese emperor, it might be contended that Vasudeva was not a vassal acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sassanian Ardeshir. The Kushana records from Mathura accord him the epithets Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi - titles which are suggestive of independent regal status. It might therefore be proposed that the end of the Kushana dynasty of Kanishka came with the invasion of Shapur I resulting in the burning and devastation of the city

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of Begram - Kapisi, as earlier inferred by Ghirshman.

The dynasty of Kanishka thus ends with Vasudeva, though the Kushans continued to figure later on in history. At Begram, as well as in Northern India, the later Kushanas, whose coins have been found, emerged as the new ruling family. It appears from the records of these Later Kushana rulers that they kept up the tradition of omitting hundreds in their records. Their history can now be recorded with a little more of precision and certainty. The ninety-nine years rule of the Kanishka's group of Kushanas, comprising very probably only three kings, was marked with an extensive empire from Balka to Bihar, supported by a strong administrative set-up. The Kushana rulers were broad-minded and tolerant, though they had leaning towards Buddhism and Hinduism. They were successful in bringing about political integration in Northern India. The emergence of the third Kushana family, following the heels of the previous imperial one, had a few rulers - Kanishka II, Vasu-Vasishka, and Kanishka of the Surkh Kotal and Ara inscriptions, who ruled for another fifty years or so. If the chronological framework and the date of Kanishka accession in c. A.D. 144 is accepted, then the Kushanas continued to rule till the end of the third century, or even early in the fourth to become contemporaries of Samudragupta. The Allahabad Prasasti records the Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi - evidently the contemporaries of this Gupta ruler. This fact belies the supposition of Smith that there was a dark period of Indian history before the emergence of the Guptas to power.

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FOOTNOTES

1. It is commonly thought that the designation devaputra, 'god-son', applied in India to the kings of the Kushana dynasty was copied from the ancient Chinese Imperial title T'ien-tzu, 'son of heaven'. Justification of this view, according to F.W.Thomas, cannot be found in any novelty in the very wide-spread notion of divine descent of kings and emperors. It was not an imitation of the Chinese imperial title 'son of heaven', but should be understood in its Indian sense, not invented by, or, for the Kushans. With the meaning 'god-son', it is found in the Rig-Veda (X.62. 4), in the inscriptions of Bharhut (Luder's List, nos. 774, 814), long period to the Kushanas, and also in the Jatakamala. Levi, citing valuable new material held it as a royal title borrowed from the Chinese. (JA, CCXXIV. 1934. pp. 1-21). According to Thomas, once again, the title so commonly present in dedicatory and other inscriptions, dated in the Kanishka era and even in an inscription on the base of the statue of perhaps a Kushana king, and on a statue of Kanishka himself, set up in the Kushana valhalla at Mathura, was a complimentary epithet, current only among the Indian subjects of the Kushanas and therefore with its Indian meaning (B.C. Law Volume, Part ii. pp. 97 ff). This designation does not seem to have been applied to the preceding Greek, Saka or Pahlava rulers.

2. Comp.H.I. p. 233. Kanishka Papers. Op. Cit. p. 290. The date of Kanishka discussed by many scholars figure in a comprehensive bibliography given in Poussain's L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares Grecs, Scythes Parthes et Yue-tchi. pp. 343 ff ; in H. Deydier : Contribution a l'etude de art du Gandhara, Paris. 1950, and also in his La date de Kanishka. l'art du Gandhara et la chronologie du Nord-quest de Inde (JA. CCXXXIX (1951) pp. 133-152 ; and also in Ghirshman's Le probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans (Cahiers d' Histoire Mondiale - Journal of World History Vol. III No. 3. 1957. pp. 689 ff). J.E. Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw in her work "The Scythian Period" has associated Kanishka with the Saka era, and it is probably the only comprehonsive work on the history of this period, which was ably reviewed by Prof. A.L.Basham (BSOAS. 1953. XV/1 pp. 80 ff). He also shows his preference for Dr. Lohuizen's chronology, but concludes with regret that 'an agreed chronology will never be reached on the basis of the evidence now available ; only new epigraphic or other material of major importance can settle our doubts (p. 95). The famous London Conference convened by the School of Oriental and African Studies on 'The Date of Kanishka' London 20-22 April 1960 discussed the subject in great detail and from different sources, but finally left the question as 'an open one'. (p. xii).

3. According to H.W.Bailey, the name Kanishka occurs in Khotanese Saka, Tocharian of Kuchi, and Agni, Sogdian and Uighur Turkish texts. There are two legends of the Buddhist account of Kanishka. The first legend is the story of the foundation

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of Kanishka stupa and Kanishka vihara in Purusavar. The second legend associates the Kalyanamitra Asvaghosha with Kanishka. (London Conference - Papers. Op.Cit. pp. 35 ff). The Tibetan work Li-Yul-gyi refers to Lo-rgyas-pa, the daughter of the king of Ga-hjag, the queen of Vijayasimha, king of Khotan, was helpful in propagating Buddhism in Shu-lik i.e. Kashgar (Rockhill. The Life of the Buddha. p. 240). The Tibetan sources record Vijayasimha's son, Vijayakirti, joining Kanika and the king of Guzan in an expedition to India resulting in the capture of Soked (Saketa). (Thomas. IA. XXXII. 1903 p. 349). The Chinese translation of Kumaralata's Kalpanamanditika which was composed shortly after the reign of Kanishka, notices Chen-t'an-Kia-ni-cha of the family of Kiu-sha, conquering Tien-Chu (Eastenrn India) and pacifying the country. (Luders. Bruchstucke der Kalpanamanditika des Kumaralata. Leipzig. 1926 ; Levi. JA. ccxi. 1927. pp. 495 ff ; Sten Konow. Corpus (CII. II(1) p. lxxv.

4. D.Schlumberger. Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane. JAS. 1954. p. 175 ; Helmut Humbach. The Kanishka Inscription from Surkh Kotal (Kanishka. Papers. p. 121).

5. Begram : Cahiers d'histoire mondiale. 3. 1957 pp. 698 ff.

6. Andra Maricos : Syria. 33. 1958 pp. 295- 360, quoted in his paper on 'The Date of Kanishka' (London. Kanishka Papers pp. 182-184). Maricq suggests that 'there is not the slightest element of proof for attributing the destruction of Begram on the basis of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription. (Kanishka Papers. p. 184).

7. This Po-tiao in the San-Kuo Chih (Section Wei-Chih Chap.III p. 3) who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230 and received the title 'King of the Ta-Yueh-Chi allied to the We', is identified with Vasudeva, according to Chavannes (Toung Pao. II. V. p. 489 ; quoted by Sten Konow. Op.cit. p. lxxvii.

8. A short account of the excavations and their results is given by Ghirshman in his Fouilles de Begram (JA No. ccxxxiv, 1943-45 pp. 59 ff.) with a brief exposition of the date of Kanishka. A comprehensive account is given in his Begram, Recherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans (Cairo, 1946). The French scholar has discussed the date of Kanishka in his 'Le probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans; based on archaeological and other historical sources in Cahiers d'histoire-mondiale 'Journal of World History'. (Vol. III. 1957 - hence-forth Cahiers).

9. Maricq analyses the contents of this inscription in his paper on 'The Date of Kanishka' (Kanishka Papers pp. 182- ff.). The composition of this document consists of three parts. In the first one Shapur introduces himself, followed by the list of provinces of his empire ; in the second one there is reference to three victorious wars against Rome, and in the third one Shapur announces commemorative foundations, consisting of five fires bearing his name and those of his four children, three perpetual sacrifices along with the list of respective beneficiaries - including himself, and his close relations and dignitaries.

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10. Kanishka Papers. p. 229. In Narain's words, 'From the numismatic point of view the archaeology of Begram is not of great help in determining that there was actually a break in the political history of the Kushanas, that the Kushana kings from Kanishka to Vasudeva II (or III) were divided into three dynasties and that Shapur I was the intruder after Vasudeva I and before the accession of the latter.

11. Kanishka Papers. p. 182.

12. See his paper - Chinese Evidence for the Date of Kanishka. (Kanishka Papers. pp. 247-258).

13. ibid. p. 255.

14. 'Numismatic Evidence relating to the date of Kanishka' (Kanishka Papers. pp. 103-104). His chronology is as following :

Kanishka I	- 1-41	Senior Augustus	- A.D. 144-185
Vasishka	- 24-28	Junior Augustus	- A.D. 168-177
Huvishka	- 29-41	Junior Augustus	- A.D. 173-185
Huvishka	- 42-60	Senior Augustus	- A.D. 186-204
Vasudeva I	- 61-98	Senior Augustus	- A.D. 205-241

15. Op. cit. pp. 179-199 ; see also JA. 1958. pp. 395-8.

16. ibid. p. 181.

17. Begram. p. 98.

18. Op.cit. p. 184.

19. ibid. p. 190.

20. Cahiers. p. 710.

21. Maricq. Op. cit. p. 192.

22. Journal of the Department of Letters. Calcutta University. 1920. pp. 71 ff ; Kanishka Papers. pp. 150-154). Majumdar considers his approach to be that of a judge who once having arrived at a decision by the normal interpretations of essential facts established as reasonable evidence, does not allow mere quibbles to interfere with his judgement. (p. 151).

23. Gafurou et al : Central Asia in the Kushan Period - Moscow 1974. Vol.I. pp. 292 ff.

24. EI. XIX. p. 96.

25. CHI. Vol. I. p. 585.

26. Political History of Ancient India (3rd ed.) 1924. p. 318 ; (5th ed) pp. 465 f.

27. Quoted by Sten Konow. Op. cit. pp. xcvi, 77.

28. ibid. p. 77.

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29. ibid. p. 79.

30. ibid. p. 81.

31. ibid. p. 104.

32. The Dutch Professor suggests that the year I of the era of Kanishka must be in or shortly after the year 200 of the old era (Op. cit. p. 63). She further points out that Kanishka introduced the new era throughout his whole kingdom and did away with the old era, and that in Gandhara during his sway only one chronological system was in use. After the fall of the dynasty, the old era which had taken root there came again into use in the North-west, and so we see in 303 of the old era coming to the fore and continuing in use until at least 399. In Mathura, the more Indian part of the kingdom, the old era was apparently never much in use (p. 62).

33. Bhandarkar. JBBRAS. XX. 1902. p. 386 ; according to Kielhorn, the earliest known dates, pertaining to this Samvat are all from eastern Rajputana, chiefly from that part bordering on, or included in Malwa. (IA. XX (1891), p. 402). The earliest record mentioning the era of Vikrama (Vikramakhyakala) is the Dholpur stone inscription dated in the year 898, i.e. 841 A.D. (ZDMG. XL. p. 42 ; IA. XIX (1890) p. 35. In the third century A.D., the name Krita was used in a number of inscriptions, recorded on the Yupas found in eastern Rajputana. These dates have also been assigned to the Vikrama era. (Altekar : EI. XXIII. p. 52). It appears that the so-called Vikrama era was earlier known as the Krita era. It was a continuation of the old era of 58/57 B.C. (See Dikshit. ACRI. XXXIV. p. 74).

34. JRAS. 1914. pp. 973 ff. R.P.Chanda and Sten Konow accepted Marshall's hypothesis. JRAS. 1920. pp. 319 ff ; JRAS. 1932. pp. 948 ff.

35. Op. Cit.

36. CII. II(1). pp. 165 ff.

37. EI. VIII. pp. 196 ff.

38. CII. II(1). pp. 142 ff.

39. Ibid. pp. 145 ff.

40. ibid. p. 150.

41. This problem has been discussed in detail in the last chapter.

42. ASI. An. Rep. 1910-11. p. 42 ; EI. Vol.II. p. 39 ; Vol. IX. pp. 244-45 ; Luder's List. No. 16.

43. EI. VIII. pp. 42 ff. This point has been discussed by Basham (BSOAS. 1953. pp. 92-92) and also by Lohuizen-de-

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Leeuw (Op.cit. p. 382). In fact the advocates of Saka era theory harp on the difficulty of making Kanishka a contemporary of Rudradaman, because of the absence of the name of the Saka overlord, if any, in his record, and the extension of the Saka kingdom as far as Sindh and Malwa which were parts of the Kushana empire as well. (See H.C. Ghosh. IHQ. V. (1928) p. 80 ; Raychaudhury. PHAI (4th ed. p. 390). We shall consider this point in discussing the extent of the empire of Kanishka, and his relations with the Saka Kshatraps.

44. Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi. Calcutta. 1922. pp. 30-31.

45. A comprehensive list of Kushana treasure coins is wanting. At Ransi, a pot full of large copper coins was unearthed some time before 1878, containing 500 coins attributed to Vima Kadphises and Kanishka (Cunningham ASR. XIV. p. 48). Some coins of these two rulers along with a square punch-marked coins were found at Buadih (Kurda) by Carlleyle (ibid. XII. p. 40). 382 copper coins of the former, and 40 of the latter were found at Kalka-Kasauli road in the former State of Patiala (Pro. ASB. (1895) p. 82). A hoard of 450 coins - 44 of Vima and 406 of Kanishka were found in excavations at Amarkot in the Swahi Tehsil, Peshawar Distt. (ASI.An. Rep. 1922-23. p. 160). These were associated with a single coin of Soter Megas. In the same district four seers of treasure trove Kushana coins were found, numbering 511 - 59 of Vima Kadphises, and 452 of Kanishka. (ibid. 1926-27. p. 216). In the Manikiala tope, no. 2, coins of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka were found associated with the Roman denarii. (Cunningham. ASR. II. p. 162). Coins of other Kushana rulers of Kanishka's group were also found in association with those of Vima. (Smith. JRAS (1913) p. 942). Other places where these have been found are Kaira (Cunningham. ASR. XXI. p. 108), Gopalpur (U.P.) (Proc. ASB. 1896. p. 100), Varanasi (Banares) - Smith. EHI. p. 257 n; The most important hoard is the Ahinposh Stupa find which has its relatively chronological value. See also Banerji.A. Kushanas in Eastern India. JNSI. XIV. pp. 62 ff.

46. Proc. ASB (1897) p. 123. The Ahin Post Stupa deposit with its ten coins of Vima, six of Kanishka and a single early issue of Huvishka, according to Allchin, was a single compound one dating from the end of Kanishka's life. Together with the indigenous coins were the imported coins of Trajan, Dermitian and Sabina. These provide a cross date of the utmost interest. (Kanishka Papers. p. 28).

47. ibid. p. 143. Kennedy had earlier proposed that it was by mere accident that Huvishka was represented in the Ahin Post stupa. These coins, like the Roman ones, seem to have been placed in stupas along with gems, relics and other valuable articles - a collection of curios. (JRAS. 1913. p. 937). This argument of Kennedy was taken by Thomas 'as distinguishing the circumstances in a haze of inconclusive matter.

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The association of the three Roman coins whether placed as curios or otherwise in the Ahin Post stupa along with those of Huvishka and his predecessors, make it certain that the stupa was built during or soon after the life time of Huvishka. (quoted by Kennedy - Thomas Paper. JRAS. ibid. p. 627).

48. Kanishka Papers. pp. 103 ff.

49. Op.cit p. 148.

50. It has been observed that the head dress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and above all, the shape of the beard and features are very similar to the head on the coins of the Roman emperors from 30 B.C. to 150 A.D. (JRAS. 1908. p. 551, also quoted in JRAS. 1913. p. 918 n. 2).

51. The Indo-Greeks, Sakas, and Indo-Parthians used Greek and Kharoshthi legends on their coins. Kanishka used Greek legends only, and he and his successors adopt only the Greek alphabet. Kharoshthi disappears. According to Kennedy, Greek ceased to be a living language in general used east of the Euphrates after A.D. 100, and secondly Kanishka and his successors knew Greek. This was accepted by Tarn and Gardner (JRAS. 1913. p. 922). Down to Kanishka's time Greek unical alone were used for the Greek coin-legends. Kanishka begins with unicals, but he presently changes to a beautiful cursive script, and his successors adopt this script alone.

52. JRAS. 1913. p. 924 and note.

53. A summary of this Paper in French appears in Henry Deydier : Contribution a l'etude de l'art du Gandhara. No. 415 pp. 250ff.

54. SBPAW. 1912. p. 83.

55. JASB (1930) NS. xlvii p. 27.

56. Deydier. Op.cit p. 251.

57. JA. No. 236 p. 63.

58. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. Calcutta. Vol.I,p. 97.

59. Altekar : Catalogue of the Gupta Coins of the Bayana Hoard, p. liv. cf. Altekar. Gupta Coinage p. 42.

60. Op.cit. pp. 114 ff.

61. Marshall made certain observations on the stratification of the buildings he found at Taxila during the course of his excavations. The buildings at the Chir stupa, according to him, occur in four strata one above the other ; in each stratum a different type of masonry is used in the construction, and with each stratum are associated coins of the kings or dynasties indicated as follows :-

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Stratum	Masonry Construction	Coins
1. Uppermost	semi-ashlar, semi-diaper	Vasudeva and later Kushana
2. Second	large diaper	Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva
3. Third	small diaper	Kadphises I and II
4. Fourth	rubble and kanjur	Saka and Pahlava

62. JRAS. 1915. p. 195.

63. The views of different scholars on this point have been taken into consideration by Waddell (JRAS. 1913. pp. 945 ff). According to Smith, the art attained its highest development during the reign of Kanishka (Imperial Gazetteer of India. II. 115 ff). Vogel and Spooner presumed with certainty that the great flourishing period of Gandhara art had passed away before the epoch of Kanishka. (ASI. An. Rep. 1908-09, pp. 33-4, 50-). According to Foucher, Kanishka occupied a middle period (Lart greco-bouddhique du Gandhara. 1905. pp. 40-42.)

64. JRAS. 1909. pp. 105 ff. Konow. CII. ii. p. 134.

65. A.L. Basham in a letter to the author suggests that the casket after being cleaned in the British Museum shows no trace of any date, and it is quite likely that he might not be the great Kanishka but the one mentioned in the Ara inscription. cf. B.N.Mookerji. British Museum Quarterly. 1964. Vol. XXVIII. pp. 44-45.

66. JRAS. 1913. p. 942.

67. JRAS. 1903. pp. 49 ff.

68. ASI. An. Rep. 1908-09 pp. 33-4.

69. L'Art Graeco-Bouddhique du Gandhara pp. 40 ff.

70. JRAS. 1913. pp. 946 ff. Waddell put forward the following facts for consideration. Firstly, there is no evidence that the Gandhara or Graeco-Buddhist art existed before the epoch of Kanishka. Menander or possibly Gondophernes' introduction of Graeco-Buddhist art is a pure assumption unsupported by any fact. Secondly the style of Gandhara art is relatively late, and is incompatible with a date before the Christian era. He questions Fergusson that Gandhara sculptures are much more Roman than Greek in their general design, and more Byzantine than either (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture p. 182). Thirdly, the motive of Gandhara art is largely late and incompatible with a date before the Christian era. Its mythology is generally that of the theistic Lalitavistara. Lastly, the zenith of Gandhara art was probably not reached until the third or fourth century A.D. The later date is based on the figured Corinthian capitals and the other motives and style of the fine sculptures, in keeping with mixed Indo-Grecian style found at Mathura and Amravati.

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71. Kanishka Papers. p. 54-55.

72. ibid. pp. 126 ff.

73. ibid. p. 259

74. ibid. p. 266

75. D.N.Mookerji. IC. Vol. I. p. 477 ; P.C.Sen Gupta. IC. Vol.VII. pp. 457-462. Out of the dated Kushana records only two may be taken into consideration, as these alone refer to the Nakshatras. The Zeda inscription (CII. p. 142) of the year 11 of King Kanishka mentions Uttaraphalguni Nakshatra on the 20th day of the month of Ashadha. The Und inscription (ibid. p. 170) of the year 61 mentions Purvashadha Nakshtra on the 8th day of the month of Chaitra. These dates have been worked out by scholars. Sten Konow, with the help of Von Wijk first suggested 134 A.D. as the initial year of Kanishka's era (IHQ. II. p. 180) later changing over to 128/9 A.D. He points out, Dr. Von Wijk had done so (AO.III. pp. 83 ff ; V. pp. 168ff) and arrives at the result that the only set of years within the limits with which we can reasonably reckon, which fulfils the conditions, is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda and 3290 for the Und inscription (CII. p. xciii). H.C.Ghosh fixed 89 A.D. (expired) for the Zeda inscription, that is to say, the Kushana era, according to him, started in 78 A.D. of 79 current. (IHQ. IV. 928 p. 764).

76. Puri. IC. VII. pp. 490-492.

77. JA.IX. VIII. 1895 pp. 444 ff. IX. 1897 pp. 526 ff ; IA. xxxii, 1903 pp. 381 ff ; xxiii. 1904 pp. 110 ff.

78. CII. II. p. lxxvi.

79. ibid. Konow infers that the Khotana Maharaya Rajatiraja Hinajha (?) Avijidasimha of the Turkestan document No. 661, used the same era as that of Kanishka, which was established on the occasion of the great consolidation of Kushana power which led to the expedition to Eastern India.

80. JA. IX. viii. 1896 p. 463 ; Bagchi : K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume. p. 94 ff.

81. Chavannes - Toung Pao II vii. 1906. pp. 330.

82. Sylvain Levi. JA. xi, ii. 1913 pp. 330.

83. Beal. Buddhist Records I p. 173 ; See Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, Op.cit. p. 382.

84. JA. IX. viii. 1896. pp. 482.

85. Op.cit p. 384.

86. Kanishka Papers. p. 410.

87. IHQ. V. (1929) p. 71 ff; cf. Maspero. BEFFO. X. 1910. pp. 95 ff.

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88. Toung Pao. II. V. p. 489.

89. Cahiers d' Historic Mondiale - Op.cit. p. 713.

90. Van Lohuizen. Op. cit. p. 318.

91. JA. 234 (1943-45) p. 59. cf. also n. 89 (op.cit).

92. Pro. Ind.Hist.Congress (Hyderabad. 1941) p. 163.

93. Cal. Review. July 1934. p. 83 ff ; EI. XXIV. pp. 216 ff.

94. EI. VIII. pp. 196 ff. Nos. IIIa, IIIb, IIId.

95. Luder's List. Appendix EI.X. Nos. 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. JRAS. 1924. p. 397. No.2 (dated in the year 23 of Kanishka.

96. CII. Vol. II(1). pp. 138 ff.

97. ibid. pp. 142 ff.

98. ibid. pp. 145 ff.

99. I. 168. "There were in this land three kings, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, who built three towns after them. Kalhana's dating of these kings is clearly wrong" according to Konow. He agrees with Raychaudhury that Kanishka who comes last in Kalhana's list, was not the founder of the dynasty, but a later king of the same name. (CII. p. lxxx). He may have been the second Kanishka.

100. cf. Asvaghosha. Sutralankara translated by Huber (in French) Paris. 1908 ; Luders : Bruch Stucke der Kalpanamanditika Leipzig. 1926 ; Levi. JA. ccxi. 1927. pp. 495 ff ; Sten Konow. Op.cit. p. lxxv.

101. According to Thomas, Levi adduces evidence in favour of an ~~ex~~ extensive dominion of the Kushanas in southern India. In the Chinese Later Han Annals, whose author died in 445 A.D., but which does not record events later than 170 A.D. or more than a limited number later than 125 A.D. (Chavannes : Toung-Pao II (1907) pp. 149-50), there is an account of a kingdom of Tung-li in the following words : 'The kingdom of Tung-li has for capital the town Sha-chi. It is more than 5000 li (c. 1000 miles south-east of Tien-chu (India). It is a great kingdom. The climate and products of the country are analogous to those of Tien-chu. It has several dozens of towns of the first order, whereof the chiefs give themselves the title King. The Great-Yueh-chi attacked that kingdom, and enslaved it. The men and women there are all eight (Chinese) feet tall. Thomas. NIA. VII. Nos. 5 & 6 p. 86.

102. Coins of Kanishka were found at Bhita (ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12 pp. 34, 63). Pataliputra (ibid. 1912-13 pp. 79, 84), those of Huvishka at Bhita (Op.cit) and of Vasudeva too at Bhita ((Op.cit. p. 65). Three coins were found in north Bengal.

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(JASB. 1932. p. 127). A hoard of Kushana coins from the time of Vima Kadphises to Vasudeva was found at Buxar. According to Altekar, it consisted of 23 coins of Vima Kadphises, 159 of Kanishka, 172 of Huvishka and 38 undeciphered ones. (JNSI. XII. pp. 121 ff). A coin of Huvishka was found near Vajrasana in Bodh-Gaya by Cunningham. Kushana coins were also found at Vaisali and at Kumarahara in Patna in 1956 excavations. A large number of terracottas with characteristic Kushana features and dress were also found at Kumarahara (Bihar through the ages. p. 205). See also JNSI. XIII(1) pp. 62-65).

103. According to Sten Konow, citing the annals of the Li country, (Thomas. Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan pt. i. London. 1935 (p. 119), 'Originally King Kanishka and the king of the Gu-zan and the Li ruler, king Vijaykirti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named Soked' (evidently Saketa). Similarly the translation of Kumaralata's Kalpanamanditika by Kumarajiva (c. 405 A.D.) states that Chen-tan (old pronunciation), according to Karlgran Nos. 1194 and 967 (Tsien-de'an), Kanishka conquered Tung-tien-chu i.e. eastern India (Levi. JA. IX. viii. 1896 p. 457 ; IA. XXXII. 1903. p. 385 ; Sten Konow. IHQ. XIV. p. 149).

104. JBORS. I. p. 232.

105. ibid. V. p. 78.

106. JASB. XXVIII. p. 127.

107. Majumdar Sastri. Ancient India. by Ptoleny p. 212.

108. Melanges Charles de Harlez, Leyden. 1896 quoted by Sten Konow. Op. cit. p. XXI.

109. Gupta Coins. Introduction p. xxix.

110. PASBB. 1882. p. 113.

111. Beal. Buddhist records of the Western World. Vol. I. p.50.

112. JRAS. 1942. p. 19.

113. The Kushana rule in Central Asia, including Balkh and Khotan, is based on the records from Mathura, and the recent archaeological excavations conducted by Tolstov, chief of the Soviet archaeological mission. He points to the expansion of the empire of the grand Kushanas and the annexation of Chorasmie. From the third century A.D. appear the coins with the bust of the kings to the right, their faces long, barbarian with the headress inspired by those of Ardeshir I, Shapur I, Bahram II, and of Hormizd II. Talstov presumes that this signifies the end of the Kushanas. (Quoted by Ghirshman. Cahiers p. 701). He also notes that the most ancient of the coins were found with those of Vasudeva I. Three years back it was announced that Russian archaeologists working on a site in southern Uzbekistan close

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to the Afghan border unearthed what they believed to be Kushana palace, suggesting that the Kushanas weilded power from Aral sea to Northern India (INS. Sept. 18, 1961). It is clear from the Mathura Brahmi inscription of the year 28, and several other records mentioning the term Bakanapati, that this country formed part of the Kushana empire, and the lords from Bakana = Wakhana used to frequent Mathura (EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff).

114. According to Tolstov, about 60 coins were collected on the territory of Khorezm, including six of Vima Kadphises, 8 of Kanishka, 9 of Huvishka and 8 of Vasudeva - the rest cannot be classified. 22 Kushana coins were found on the territory of the ancient city of Toprak-Kala and its environs ; of these, 4 coins are of Kadphises II, 3 of Kanishka, 3 of Huvishka and 6 of Vasudeva. No coin of the third or fourth Kushan dynasties have been recorded in the Khorezen territory. (Kanishka Papers. p. 309).

115. Begram pp. 146-47.

116. Ghirshman. Iran (Pelicans) p. 292.

117. JASB. IX. (1943) pp. 79 ff.

118. p. 243.

119. Op.cit p. cxxiv ; See also AO. II. pp. 211 ff.

120. CII. Vol. II(1) p. 175. Suivihar in Bhawalpur State does not appear to have been a terminal post of the Kushana empire under Kanishka in the south-west. As we presumed in the case of the eastern limits of his empire, Kanishka's hold probably extended further south to include portions of Sindh as well. The Tordher Potsherds bearing Kushana letters might be suggestive of the extension of the Kushana empire further south-west to Suivihar.

121. Marshall. Indus Civilization. Op.cit.

122. JRAS. 1925 p. 9. According to Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, it is quite unacceptable that the Western Kshatrapas who used the Saka era and who were the Vassalâs of Kanishka and his successors, used another than their feudal lords. Konow's suggestion (IHQ. IV. pp. 760-4) that they were the Vassalas of Vima Kadphises has been refuted by Thomas. (Sandanes Nahapana etc. Op.cit. NIA.)

123. EI. II. p. 389.

124. PHAI. (5th ed) p. 621.

125. Levi quoted a passage from the Chinese Later Han Annals whose author died in 445 A.D., but which does not record events later than 170 A.D. in which there is an account of a kingdom of Tung-li. Its capital was Sha-chi, more

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than 3,000 li (c. 1000 miles) south-east of Tienchu (India). The Great Yueh-chi attacked that kingdom and enslaved it. In the Wei Luo, a text composed during the period 239-265 A.D. there is a reference to the kingdom and its subjugation by the Yueh-chi along with T'ien-chu. The two are distinguished. So Tung-li must be different.

126. Op.cit p. 92.

127. ibid. p. 95.

128. Op. cit.

129. Op. cit.

130. Op. cit.

131. Op. cit.

132. Kern. Manual of Buddhism p. 121.

133. For a comprehensive account of the excavations here, see ASIAR, 1908-9 pp. 38 ff ; 1909-10 pp. 135 ff; Marshall. JRAS. 1909 pp. 1056 ff. On the location of the Stupa and its identification, see ASIFC, 1907-8, pp. 17 ff; 1908-9 pp. 44 ff. See also Foucher - L'art Greco-Buddhique du Gandhara II. p. 440.

134. This point is doubtful. In a letter written to me, Prof. A.L.Basham of London, who examined it recently, denies any references to the date in the inscription. The casket was recently sent to the British Museum for cleaning.

135. JA. 1896. II. p. 44.

136. IA. 1903. p. 382.

137. On the Council of Kanishka - see Hiuen-Tsang-Memoires, I. 172 ; Beal. I. p. 117, 151 ; Watters. I. 274-276 ; Takakusu. JRAS. 1905. p. 415 ; JPTS. 1905. p. 123 ; Toung-Pao. 1904 (A Study of the Paramartha's life of Vasubandhu, cf. Poussain: L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas etc. pp. 326-7.)

138. For details, see JA. 1897. II. p. 528 cf. Poussain : L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas etc. p. 328.

139. Thomas. IA. 1903. p. 345 ; 1904. p. 31 ; 1905. p. 145 ; Levi. JA. 1896. II. p. 449, 455 ; 1897. I. p. 1. According to Mr. Shackleton Bailey, it was Kanishka II to whom Matricheta addressed his counsels. (The Satapanchasataka of Matricheta pp. 3-4 ; cf. S.R.Vidyabhushana used Taranath's testimony to argue that the Epistle was written by a second Matricheta to the second Kanishka (or Kanika)(JASB. 1910. pp. 477 ff).

140.: Poussin. Op.cit. p. 325.

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141. Ref. Mathura Yupa inscription of the year 24 of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Vasishka. (Vogel : Cat. Math. Mus. No. Q 13; Sahni, D.R. JRAS. 1910. p. 1311 ff ; note by Fleet. ibid p. 1315 q; Luders List No. 149, 9. The Sanchi Bodhisattva inscription of the year 28 of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Vasishka (EI. II. p. 39 ; IX. pp. 244-5 ; JRAS. 1903. pp. 326 ff. Cat. Sanchi Museum. 30 No. A. 82).

142. This inscription was edited by Banerji (IA. xxxvii. 1908. pp. 58 ff ; Luders. SBAW. 1912. pp. 824 ff. translated in IA. xlii. 1913. pp. 132 ff ; cf. JRAS. 1909. p. 652 ; Sten Konow (SBAW. 1916. pp. 805 ff; EI. xiv. pp. 130 ff; CII. II(i) pp. 162 ff.).

143. Indian Museum Quarterly. 1973(2) pp. 111ff.

144. JA. No. 246. pp. 345 ff.

145. Luder's List No. 33 - Only the letters - shkasya are left. According to Growse, the inscription possibly referred to Kanishka (IA. vi. p. 217 No.1). The dialect of this record is mixed, unlike the Sanskrit one of the record of Vasishka of the year 24 from Isapur (Mathura).

146. EI. Vol. XXI. p. 55. The term Bakanapati occurs in several other records. The famous Mat inscription engraved on the stone pedestal of an image (JRAS. 1924. p. 401 No. 31) mentions a certain official (name beginning with Saukra) who held the title or designation Bakanapati, and was the son of a Mahadandanayaka. This official had got the devakula of Huvishka's grand father repaired.

147. SBAW. 1912. p. 827 ; CII.II(i). p. lxxxi.

148. Devaputrashahi Mathura, year 28 (EI. XXXI. 55). Maharaja Rajatiraja (Mathura - Chargaon, year 40. Vogel. Cat. No. c. 13) ; Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra (Mathura, year 44, EII. 387); also Mat. (JRAS. 1924. 397 no. 3).

149. Op.cit. CII.II.(i) p. 165.

150. BSOAS. XV. 1957. pp. 84-85.

151. London Conference Papers. pp. 259-60.

152. Carnichael Lectures. 1921. pp. 22-23.

153. Banerji. Development of Hindu Iconography. p. 146.

154. The Age of Imperial Unity (Bhavan's History of India) Vol.II p. 439.

155. IHQ. XII. pp. 153-6.

156. The term devakula was interpreted by Jayaswal (as meaning "a royal gallery of portrait statues similar to the one described in Prtima Nataka of Bhasa, Act iii (JBORS. March 1919. pp. 93-9). Sahni agreed with Jayaswal (JRAS. 1924

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p. 493). This building must have been of the same kind. According to Sahni, it was impossible to suggest if the devakula of this inscription was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima (Vama-taksha) like the statue-hall (pratima-griha) in Bhasa's play, containing portraits of four successive kings of the Ikshvaku race, it was possible to imagine that the devakula at Mat near Mathura might likewise have been the family pratimagriha of the Kushana rulers. (ibid). One inscription refers to the setting up of a Bodhi-sattva statue in the devachaya. (JRAS. 1924. p. 400 No. 1).

157. EI. XXI. 55.

158. Bhandarkar. Prog. Rep. A.S.I. Wes. Cir. (PRASWC. 1906-07 p. 31).

159. Numismatic Chronicle (N.C.) 1892. pp. 117, 118.

160. IA. xxxiii. 1904 p. 101 ; Cunningham. ASR. III p. 33. On the identification of Uḍḍiyana ; see Deydier ≠ contribution a l'etude de l'art du Gandhara pp. 114 ff. in which views of all scholars are noticed with reference to older literary texts. It is the old Sanskrit name of Swat. S. Levi believed that it represents the ancient country of Khotan which the Chinese transcribed as Yu-t'-ien (JA. 1915. p. 110). Its ancient capital is identified by Stein with Manglaor.

161. Op. cit. CII. II(1) p. 137.

162. ibid. p. 170.

163. Proc. Ind. His. Cong. Hyderabad (1941) p. 163.

164. Op.cit. JA. No. 246 pp. 345 ff.

165. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12 p. 95.

166. CII. II(1) p. 117.

167. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13 pp. 10-12 ; 1915-16 pp. 1 ff.

168. Kanishka Papers. p. 191.

169. Ghirshman. La Chronologie des Kouchans. Op.cit p. 698.

170. Kanishka Papers. pp. 309-10.

171. Chavannes. Toung-Pao II. 11. p. 469.

172. Van Lohiuzen-de-Leeuw. The Scythian Period, p. 319.

173. Op.cit p. 701.

174. Ref No. 166.

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175. EI. IX. pp. 243 ff. Luder's List No. 62.

176. Luder's List No. 60.

177. Mathura Jain Image Inscription of the year 84. JASB. Vol.V, p. 6 No.7 ; Vogel. Catalogue. Mat. Mus. No. B 4. The inscription records erection of an image of Lord Arhat on the second day of the month of summer in the year 84 of the time of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi Vasudeva.

178. For fuller details see R. Ghirshman. Begram, Recherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans (Le Cairo, 1946). See also his paper on Le Probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans - (Cahiers d'histoire Mondiale - Journal of World History. III. (3), 1957. pp. 689 ff. (1957). This account is based on the other paper.

179. Kanishka Papers. p. 190.

180. For the inscription, see M. Sprengling : Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartur. Chicago. 1953.

181. Kanishka Papers. p. 182.

182. ibid. p. 184.

183. Op.cit.

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CHAPTER IV

THE LATER KUSHANAS

The Later Kushanas figure in ancient Indian History not as chips of the old block scattered here and there, and noticed insignificantly in obscure references, but as a well-knit composite unit, with their coinage. While Vasudeva of Kanishka's family ceases to rule after the year 99 of the Kushana era, the dynastic lineage did not cease to exist. In the north-west, of course, there seems to be an eclipse of the Kushana power, as inferred from the excavations at Begram, but the eastern portion of the Kushana empire was unaffected by the political upheavals at the other end. A set of inscriptions from Mathura and Sanchi suggest that these parts continued to be ruled by the Kushana rulers. One such inscription[1] mentions the ruler as Kushanaputra which might imply that he was the descendant of the earlier family, and not the son of the first ruler, as presumed by Jayaswal.[2] It might be mentioned in this context that Kushana was a family name and not the name of an individual. The Manikiala inscription[3] clearly refers to Lala as Gushanavamsa-Samvardhaka - a scion of the Kushana family. Instances are not rare of the second dynasty being named after the first one, as for instance, the Chalukyas succeeded the Chalukyas, and the Kadambas the Kadambas. It might, therefore, be presumed that the Kushanaputra of the Mat record was a descendant of the earlier family, and the use of the epithets - Maharaja-Rajatiraja Devaputra, signify continuity of the genealogical link. The history of the third Kushana family may now be recorded on the basis of the data from inscriptions, coins, chronological considerations,

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palaeographic study of the records and their language and lastly archaeological evidence.

Shahi Vamataksha :

The undated inscription[4] recorded on the colossal image of Maharaja-rajatiraja devaputra Shahi Vamataksha from the ancient site of Mat in Mathura, records the erection of the temple (devakula), a garden (arama) and a well (udapana) by a Bakanapati whose name began with the syllable Huma. This name is rather uncommon and read in context with his title, suggests foreign origin of the donor. The term Bakanapati occurs in two other records of the time of Huvishka,[5] including one from Mat itself.[6] The record is equally important for its reference to temple's (devakula) erection. The other one from this site records its repair. It can be suggested that this record might be earlier than the one of the time of Huvishka, but except for the reference to devakula the contents of the two are different. There is no reference to the garden and the well in the other record. Moreover, the Mat inscription of the time of Huvishka mentions the name of the father of the Bakanapati beginning with the syllable Masha. The Bakanapati of this ruler Kushanaputra Vamataksha, however, does not mention the name of his father. The two donors seem to be unrelated and the devakula set up by Vamataksha Bakanapati must have been an independent ruler. Unfortunately it is not possible to record the number of devakulas at Mat in Mathura. It is, however, evident that the Kushanaputra Vamataksha with the epithet - Maharaja-rajatiraja devaputra Shahi was a Kushana ruler. Some scholars[7] identify him with Vima Kadphises, taking Kushana to be the name of the first ruler Kujula-Kadphises. It may, however,

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be proposed that Vamataksha was a scion of the Kushana family who usurped the throne at Mathura after the death of Vasudeva, and he might have been the first ruler of the third Kushana family. Since he did not issue any coins, his reign might be of a short duration.

Kanishka II :

The name of another Kanishka, very probably a later one, occurs in an inscription recovered from an enclosed part of the Dalpat-ki-Khirki Mohalla, and published by Daya Ram Sahni in the 'Epigraphia Indica'.[8] The date of this record has been a subject of contention among scholars. Sahni dates it in the year 14. It is equally important in other ways as well. Its location is different from that of the other Kushana records which were brought out from the Kankati Tila. Further it is the first Kushana inscription in which the month is quoted by the Hindu solar name, instead of the seasonal one as in others, thus implying a change in the dating pattern. Secondly Buddha is mentioned for the first time as a Deva. (Buddhasya svamatsya devasya). Thirdly, the palaeography of the record brings it closer to the eastern variety Gupta script.[9] This fact brings the ruler of this record closer to the early Gupta period. In this context two eminent epigraphists have closely studied the palaeography of the record and have equally proposed different dates for its composition. F.W.Thomas suggests[10] that the two forms in the year and in the day of the inscription - both being read as 10, show divergence ; nor do other considerations mentioned by Daya Ram Sahni seem to preclude a reading of the year - number as 104. A Kanishka ruling in the year 104 or even 204, according to Thomas, is not surprising. This Kanishka of the year 204, if not later

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than about the end of the 3rd century A.D. would not be impossible. At any rate the Devaputra Shahanushahi, though as early as c. 240 A.D. lost Bactria to the Sassanids, they survived in Gandhara and perhaps in the Punjab and Mathura long enough to be in touch with Samudragupta.

V.V.Mirashi, on the other hand, reads[11] the first symbol of the letter as 50 and dates the record in the year 54. He identifies this Kanishka with the one of the Ara inscription, and explains the overlapping of the reigns of Huvishka and Kanishka II by suggesting that there was a civil war in the Kushana empire after the death of Vasishka. At first Kanishka II was victorious and he ruled as Emperor till the year 41. Sometime between 41 and 50 he suffered reverse at the hands of Huvishka who reduced him to a subordinate position. Soon afterward both of them were defeated by some one else and made to assume the subordinate rank of Maharaja. The late professor seems to lay much stress on the absence of the titles and indulges in all kinds of speculations. Kanishka I is called Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra in the Suivihar inscription[12] dated in the year 11, while in the Zeda inscription[13] of the same year he is simply called Muroda Marjhaka Kanishka - translated as the 'Lord Marjhaka Kanishka'. Could it imply the loss of imperial status in the same year ? These records were not official prasastis, but simply those of private donations or dedications, and the donors do not seem to have been well-versed in the official protocal in the matter of mentioning the name of the ruler with his full title. The other part of Mirashi's contention relating to the civil war after Vasishka's death need be considered later on in the context of the identity of Kanishka of the Ara inscription.

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The estampage of the Mathura record now in the Patna Museum does not show much of a difference in the symbol for ten - used both for the year and the month. As such, Sahni's reading of the record being dated in the year 14 might be accepted. This Kanishka, however, has to be distinguished from the Kanishka of the earlier dynasties. The Palaeography of the record brings this ruler closer to the early Gupta times. It may, therefore, be proposed that after Vasudeva, there was a break away of the Kushana empire at the western end. At Mathura, a scion of the Kushana family - 'Kushanaputra' named Vanataksha took over. He was followed by Kanishka II of the Mathura inscription of the year 14. He probably ruled till the year 20, and was followed by VasKushana or Vasishka.

Vas Kushana - Vasishka :

This Kushana ruler Vasishka is generally associated with the Imperial Kushana line, headed by Kanishka I, but certain overlappings of dates in his case as also in that of his son Kanishka of the Ara inscription preclude us from associating him with the earlier family. It is safer for chronological considerations to place him in the next group. Three records of this ruler have been found - two from Sanchi and one from Mathura. The first record of this ruler is dated in the year 22. It is inscribed on the pedestal of the standing image of the Buddha from Sanchi.[14] His titles are mutilated except Rajan (Rajno Vaskhushanasya). The term Rajan, even in the absence of other titles is significant. It points to his independent status. Scholars have more or less ignored him as a Kushana ruler, though he is fairly important in later Kushana history. According to Marshall,[15] he was possibly a foreigner who came to power in and around Mathura after the fall

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of the Vasudeva Kushana. The identification of this ruler with Vasishka seems certain, as another inscription of the time of Vasishka is found on the pedastal of a seated Bodhisattva figure in dhyanamudra from the same place.[16] It is dated in the year 28 of the time of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi Vasishka. An earlier inscription of the time of this ruler dated in the year 24[17] is inscribed on a yupa recovered from Isapur in Mathura. This inscription is in pure Sanskrit, unlike the mixed dialect of the Kushana records. It mentions the setting up of the yupa or the sacrificial post after the performance of some Vedic sacrifice.

Now in connection with the identification of Vaskushana with Vasishka, several other factors have to be taken into consideration. The palaeography of the two records from Sanchi, their language and contents are equally important.[18] The language of both is identical - the first one records the dedication of an image of Bhagavat Sakyamuni (Bhagavato Sakyam (mun) eha pratishtapita), the other one refers to the installation of an image of Bhagavat Bodhisattva (Bodhisattva Bhagavatasya pratishtapita). Both the statues were found in excavations. The palaeography of the two records does not show any appreciable difference. It could be presumed on the basis of the identity of the two that Vasishka was possibly deputising for his father Kanishka as a co-ruler in the year 22. The record, however, calls him Rajan along with other titles which are mutilated.[19] Vaskushana is identified with Vasishka and was an independent ruler of the later Kushana family. Unfortunately no coin of Vasishka has been found, but there are coins of Vasu in the later Kushana group. As such, the absence of the coins of Vasishka, coupled with the

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existence of Kushana ruler Vaskushana at Sanchi in the year 22 in the life time of Kanishka I, and his son Kanishka of the Ara inscription as Maharaja Rajatiraja Kaisara in the time of Huvishka weigh heavily against Vasishka's placement as the successor of Kanishka I preceding Huvishka. It can, however, still be argued that if Vasishka belonged to the Later Kushana family, then how do we account for the gap between the year 23, possibly the last year of Kanishka, and the year 28, the first of Huvishka's reign? In this context reference might be made to a record noticed by Growse.[20] It is dated in the year 28 hemanta. The record runs as - Shkasya raja Samatsare 28 hemanta. As the full name of the ruler is not given, it could be either Kanishka or Huvishka. According to Growse, the king was most probably Kanishka, for the end of the tail of na is just visible and his other records were found on the same spot. Kanishka I, therefore, seems to have ruled till the year 28 and was followed by Huvishka. The absence of the coins of Vasishka in the Imperial series is otherwise inexplicable. A ruler with the big titles like Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi ruling for atleast 4 years, if not more, was not expected to remain in obscurity. As a later Kushana ruler the coins of Vasu could naturally be associated with him. A noticeable feature in these coins is the appearance of Brahmi letters, pointing to a later phase in Kushana numismatics.

Kanishka III :

King Kanishka of the Ara inscription,[21] dated in the year 41, has been a puzzling figure to those historians who try to settle the floating islands of Kushana chronology. It is difficult to account for a Kushan ruler with such high-sounding titles

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in the year 41, while Huvishka enjoyed an uninterrupted reign of nearly 34 years from the year 28 to 62 of the Kushana era. The inscription records that during the reign of the Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Kaisara Kanishka, the son of Vajeshka, in the forty-first year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Jyaishtha, a well was dug by Dashavhara of the Peshawarian scions (Peshapuriaputrena). The name of the father of this ruler Vajheshka is rightly identified with Vasishka, but if we place the latter after Kanishka I and before Huvishka, then this Kanishka becomes a sudden intruder. Some scholars identified this Kushana with Kanishka I[22] and presumed that he ruled for over forty years, with his sons Vasishka and Huvishka only deputising for him with the titles of Maharaja, and the real sovereign was Kanishka I. He was probably away from his empire in India. The other alternative suggested by Luders and Sten Konow[23] presumes a division of the empire after Kanishka's death between Vasishka and Huvishka, and the latter succeeding Vasishka's son Kanishka of the Ara inscription as the defacto ruler of the entire Kushana empire, comprising both the eastern and the western wings. Both these suggestions are untenable. Kanishka I does not appear to have ruled for such a long time though it is not improbable. Further, he could not have been away from his metropolis for a long time entrusting his empire to his two sons whose names figure prominently in all the donatory or dedicatory records, while in his solitary record from Ara the Peshawarian scions think of the old emperor. On the other hand if there was a division of the empire with Huvishka getting the eastern half and Vasishka the western one where his son Kanishka II's record is found, then how do we account for Vasishka's

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records in Huvishka's portion at Mathura and Sanchi, with the titles of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra and Shahi, while a lord from Badakshan in the north-west (Bakanapati) acknowledges the suzerainty of Huvishka ? The only satisfactory solution, therefore, lies in placing Kanishka of the Ara inscription in the Later Kushana group as the son of Vajeshka Vasishka. Both the Later Kushana rulers issued coins, but if they are placed in the earlier group of Kanishka I, then their existence from the numismatic source is denied.

This Kanishka of the Ara inscription appears to be the same as mentioned in the inscription from Afghanistan[24] dated in the year 31 from the ruins of the Kushana sanctuary of Surkh-Kotal. The writing is Tukharian derived directly from the cursive Greek in usuage in Iran in the Parthian epoque. The first line of the record mentions the place - an edifice of Kanishka, the victorious, very much like the devakula, as suggested by Maricq. The date of this record in the year 31 of Nisan - a Babylonian month. A connected and complete translation of the record is not given, and for purpose of political history and chronology, only the date of the record has some significance. The identity of the two Kanishka's mentioned in the Surkh Kotal and Ara inscriptions seems certain. It is quite likely that Vasishka - Vajeshka ruled till the year 30 and was followed by Kanishka III who ruled till the year 45 or so. The details concerning the political history of the Later Kushanas lie in obscurity, but certain numismatic and archaeological data might be taken into consideration.

Numismatic Evidence :

The numismatic evidence suggests only two Later Kushana

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rulers - Kanishka and Vasu. Altekar tried to record[25] the history of the Later Kushana rulers on the basis of coins of the kings ruling in Punjab, Sindh and Afghanistan and their contemporaries in Iran and Bactria. According to his scheme Vasudeva was followed by Kanishka III who ruled for 30 years, followed by Vasudeva II (c. 210-230 A.D.) in whose reign the position of the Kushanas became very critical, and their days were numbered. The scheme proposed by the late professor seems very speculative. It is difficult to suggest if Kaneško of the Later Kushana family whose coins have been found was Kanishka II of the Mathura inscription of the year 14, or Kanishka III of the Surkh Kotal and Ara records of the year 31 and 41 respectively. Vasu can, of course, be identified with Vaskushana or Vasishka. The coins of this Kanishka were found in Punjab, Seistan and Afghanistan, and they bear the monogram of Vasudeva which also figures on the coins of the Later Kushana ruler Vasu. The Brahmi letters are found on the coins of both along with the corrupt Greek legend in Whitehead's Catalogue.[26] The reverse of Vasu's (two) coins - a stater and a quarter one, have the goddess Ardoksho seated on throne to front holding fillet and cornucopiae. The four staters and a quarter stater coins of Kanishko listed in his Catalogue[27] have only OHPO on the reverse, although in the second type of his coins Ardoksho replaces OHPO. Are we then to presume that the coins of Vasu are nearer to those of Vasudeva than Kanishka, thus placing him earlier than the latter ? In that case we have to presume that these coins were really those of Kanishka III. Altekar further presumes[28] that the Brahmi letters vi, si and Bhri occuring on the coins of Kanishka signified the initial letters of governors ruling over different parts of

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his extensive dominion. Additional letters like Pa, Na, Ga, Chu, Khu, Tha and Vai etc. also occur. The appearance of these letters on the coins of these two Later Kushana rulers is a mystery which remained unsolved for the present. It may be suggested that the coins of Vasu and Kanishka probably refer to Vasishka and Kanishka probably of the Ara inscription.

Archaeological Evidence :

The archaeological evidence relating to the Later Kushanas is best summarised by Ghirshman[29] from several sites - Begram, Surkh Kotal, Qala-i-Mir, Kai-Kobad, Airtam-Termez and Tali - Barzou, near Samarkand. All the six sites indicate an indeniable unity in archaeological and numismatic contexts. Some of these, the city or the temple constructed under the Grand Kushanas submitted to destruction and as well disappeared under a cover of ashes. But after a brief interruption, life resumed in a new city, rebuilt on the preceding one (except at Airtam where the site was abandoned) and that happened under the third dynasty of the Kushanas or the Later Kushanas. Ghirshman as well made a comparative study of the pottery from different sites. According to him, the late Kushana phase at Kobadian yielded the same type of pottery as at Begram III and at Tali - Barzou. Three coins from the most recent stratum include a stater of Vasudeva III, according to the French archaeologist (Vasudeva II, according to Bachhofer - actually there is no information about Vasudeva III), a copper piece similar to one from Begram III belonging to the third Kushana dynasty, and lastly perhaps one of Vima Kadphises. The break-up between the IVth and Vth occupational lords at Kobadian has been attributed to Shapur I, his compaign and victory over Vasudeva I, as suggested by Diakonov. Accordingly the date

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of Kobadian V is suggested to be the second half of the third and the first half of the fourth century A.D. It is, therefore, proposed that despite the temporary break-up of the Kushana power in the north-west consequent to the conquest at Shapur I, the Later Kushanas managed to reassert their claim to power. The archaeological evidence from different sites mentioned by Ghirshman in his paper suggests that fire and destruction of several sites were followed by new activity under the Kushanas. The Sassanian influence was not remarkable since the Later Kushanas followed in the foot-steps of their predecessors - The Great Kushanas.

The End :

It is difficult to suggest the probable date for the final extinction of this dynasty ; the epigraphic records no doubt point to Kanishka III as the last ruler. Very probably in Northern India, the Yaudheyas, the Kunindas, the Malavas, the Nagas and the Maghas struck at the root of the Kushana power.[30] The process of disintegration of the Kushana empire was probably gradual and not sudden. Even though the Kushanas ceased to be a political force in Northern India, the Gupta emperor Samudragupta had early in the fourth century A.D. some contemporary - Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi - evidently a Kushana independent or semi-independent ruler exercising control over Kabul and a part of the Punjab, and possibly further to the west.[31] The Kushana phase is supposed to have ended this time though some Kushana princes continued to figure here and there even in later times. In the latter part of the fourth or early in the fifth century A.D. the Kushanas came to acquire a new designation -

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the Kidara Kushanas. They established their rule over Gandhara and Kashmir where a large number of their coins in pale and and much debased gold have been found.[32] The names of the chiefs issuing these are all Indian - Kirtivirya, Sarvayasa, Bhasvan, Siladitya, Prakasa and Kusala - but they cannot be arranged chronologically, nor can their order of succession or the period of rule be ascertained. Their coins are crude copies of the 'sacrificing king and the enthroned Ardoksho' type of the Later Kushanas, as are those of the Gadadhara or Gadakhara, a tribe which is supposed to have occupied part of the dominions of the Kidara Kushanas when the power of the latter had waned. Both appear to have succeeded before the Hunas who invaded India in the fifth century A.D. finally resulting in the fading out of the last remnants of the Kushanas in India.

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FOOTNOTES

1. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12. pp. 120 ff.

2. JBORS. VI (1920) pp. 12 ff.

3. CII. II(1) pp. 145 ff.

4. Vogel's reading of the inscription in line 3 (Ref. 1) Bakanapatina Huna devakula Karita and that of Jayaswal Barkanapatina Huma-Kshan (o) deva-kula Karita is questioned by S.K.Dikshit (ABORI. xxxvii p. 47 ff.). He reads it as Bakana-patina 200-70 1.....1 divas (e) Karita, and suggests that the inscription is dated in the year 271 (of the Vikrama era). As regards the name of the ruler in this record - Vema Takshama - he is not to be identified with Vima Kadphises, Since the title Shahi was never borne by him, but only by Kanishka and his successors. Although we do not agree with Dikshit regarding the date of the record, Jayaswal's inference that he was Vima Kadphises is equally unacceptable.

5. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.

6. JRAS. 1924. pp. 402 ff.

7. Jayaswal's views mentioned in JBORS. VI. pp. 12 ff have been accepted by J.N.Banerji : Development of Hindu Iconography (Ist ed.) p. 41.).

8. EI. XIX. pp. 96 ff.

9. This point has been considered in detail by almost all the scholars. Sahni was the first to draw attention to some peculiarities of the script. 'It must, however', he wrote, 'be noted that the m everywhere shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the akshara h assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script, in which the horizontal base stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the akshara being turned sharply to the left. The anusvara is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot'. The long medial a is in some cases not distinctly defined. N.G. Majumdar in his comment on this record, remarks that palaeographically it is impossible to refer this inscription to Kanishka I, that is to say, to the early Kushana period, as its alphabets show predominantly Gupta forms. (EI. XXIV. p. 148 n.4). Thomas made a detailed study of the palaeography of this record, in his paper on 'Kanishka Year 14' (India Antiqua - Vogel Volume pp. 296 ff). See also our paper on the Kushana-putras - IC. VIII. pp. 193ff.

10. Op. Cit. p. 303.

11. EI. XXVI. pp. 293 ff. This reading is accepted by Chhabra (ABORI. XXXIII (1952) pp. 270 ff. S.K.Dikshit thinks that this reading is eminently suited for building up the structure of the chronology of the Later Kushanas (ABORI. XXXVII. p. 98).

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Earlier he attributes this record to the fourth and not the third century of the Vikrama Samvat, and considers the real date of the record to be 314 VS (ibid. p. 97).

12. CII. II(1) p. 141.

13. ibid. p. 145.

14. Marshall and Foucher. Sanchi. Vol. I p. 386 No. 829. According to Thomas, the ma in this record is similar to the one in Kanishka's inscription of the year 14, with sa normal and looped and ha absent (Op.cit. p. 297). But Lohizen-de-Leeuw thinks that the sa is strongly looped, na quite round, and the na also has a definitely late form. According to her, all these points show that the fragment has to be dated close to the image of the year 14 i.e. in the beginning of the Post-Kushana period and so we probably have to understand the date as 122 (The Scythian Period, p.314). There are certain other Palaeographic peculiarities, as for example in Ka, the serif is replaced by a horizontal stroke joining the vertical, the prongs of ta are of unusual size - the right being longer than the left ; the medial a is represented by a vertical stroke instead of the usual small curve. The record suggests a transitional stage from the Kushana to the Gupta period.

15. Op. cit. I pp. 278, 386. It is suggested by J.N.Banerjea that since this prince does not bear any of the Kushana titles, e.g. Devaputra, and as he is simply styled Rajan, he was a local prince of Kushana extraction. The year 22 falls within the reign of Kanishka I, and if the name Vasku-shana be another form of Vasishka who succeeded Kanishka, then it is likely that Kanishka was associated with Vasishka in the last part of his rule in the south-western part of his empire (Comprehensive History of India pp. 242-3).

16. Sanchi : Museum Catalogue p. 30 ; No. A82 ; EI. II. p. 39 ; IX. pp. 244-45, ASI. An. Rep. 1910-11 p. 42 ; Luders List No. 161.

17. Vogel. Catalogue Mathura Museum No. Q 13 ; ASI. An. Rep. 1910-11 p. 189 ; Luders List No. 139 a.

18. The language of these records is more Sanskritised and is different from the Gatha dialect of the earlier Kushana records. The Palaeography also suggests certain advanced features. In the Sanchi record the serif of ka is replaced by a stroke and the cross bar by a curve line. In ja also the third horizontal line proceeds down and the vertical shows a slight bulge towards the left. Peculiarities are also noticeable in the case of the medial ra which has a horizontal stroke joined to the top of the vertical ; the right prong of ta is bigger than the left, and moves left-wards assuming the shape of a horizontal joined with its end as in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta - (See our Paper in IC. VIII (2 & 3) pp. 191 ff.

19. As the date and the year of the record follows the name of

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the ruler, preceded by the title Rajan, either some more titles or some other family details are missing.

20. Mathura. Pt. II. p. 173 ; IA. VI. p. 217 No.1 ; XXXIII. pp. 38 ff No. 8 ; Luder's List No. 33 ; JRAS. 1905. p. 358; Vogel. Cat.Mat. Mus. No. 449.

21. CII. pp. 162 ff; The inscription was also edited by Banerji (IA. xxxvii, 1908. pp. 58 ff. ; Luders (SBAW. 1912. pp. 824, translated IA. XLII. 1913. pp. 132 ff ; cf. JRAS. 1909. p.652); Sten Konow (SBAW. 1916. pp. 805 ff; EI. XIV. pp. 130 ff). An interpretation was given by Fleet (JRAS. 1913 pp. 97 ff ; p. 967). According to Sten Konow, the characters of this record are Kharoshthi of the later Kushana period, as for example, kha almost identical with the one of Shakardarra, the jha of Vajheshka, the shape of da and ba, the prolongation of the left leg of the square ya ; the separation of the i stroke from the la in li, 1.6 ; the circle shape of r in rtha, e and the two forms of shka in Vajheshka and Kanishka (Op.cit. p. 162).

22. Banerji. Op.cit. Vincent Smith suggests that his reign was protracted. Cunningham assigned him a duration of 40 years ; cf. Bashams views.

23. CII. II(1) p. 163.

24. A. Maricq. La grande inscription de Kanishka et l'ete tokharian JA. 246 pp. 345 ff. See also Kanishka Papers.

25. A New History of the Indian People (NHIP) p. 12.

26. Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum. Nos. 236-237.

27. ibid. Nos. 231-234, 235.

28. NHIP. p. 15. According to Vincent Smith, the Indian letters, placed by the side of the spear, are frequently monosyllablic, like Chinese name, Bha, Ga, VI and so forth. These seem to belong to chiefs of various central Asian tribes who invaded and acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushana or Shahi kings of Kabul (EHI. p. 291).

29. This study is based on Ghirshman's paper La Probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans in which he has also collated the archaeological evidence based on the excavations carried on by the French and the Russian Archaeologists in Afghanistan and Central Asia. The references to the papers and Reports are quoted from his Paper (see pp. 708 ff). See also the views of Soviet archaeologists and others in the Kanishka Conference Papers.

30. The reference to the Nagas and the Yaudhiyas as successors of the Kushanas is based on indigenous evidence. The early Nagas holding sway over Padmavati and Mathura, previously in the possession of the Kushanas, performed ten, horse sacrifices. According to the Puranas seven kings had already ruled in Mathura and nine at Padmavati when the Guptas came

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to power. (Pargiter - Dynasties of the Kali Age p. 49) ; cf. Raychaudhuri PHAI. pp. 480 ff.). They must have aggrandised themselves at the expense of the Indian Kushanas. The Yaudheyas occupied the territory lying on the banks of the Sutlej as far as the borders of the Bahawalpur State (Johiyabar). A variety of Yaudheya copper coins show clear affinity with the Kushana coins, and these were probably struck by the Yaudheyas sometime after they had shaken off the Kushana sway. According to Altekar, the legends Yaudheyaganasya on their coins, and Yaudheyanam Jayamantradharanam on the clay seals discovered from Sunet, near Ludiana point to a great victory over the Kushanas. (Proceedings - All India Oriental Congress XII. Benares. 1943. pp.

31. The expansion of the Sassanian empire in the east, did not completely obliterate the Kushanas who acknowledged their supremacy. The Paikuli inscription appears to refer to several rulers as subordinate allies, if not feudatories of the Kushanas. These included the kings of the Saurashtras, Avantis, Sakas and Abhiras (JRAS. 1933. p. 219). The Sassanian emperor Hormazd II (A.D. 3 or 10) married a daughter of a Kushana king. On some of his coins he is called Kushan Malka (Lord of the Kushanas, and Kushan Malkan Malka (Lord of the Kushanas rulers). His coins again bear the figure of Siva and his bull as well as the Indian altar (Whitehead. Cat. p. 213 No. 240).

32. JRAS. 1913. p. 1064 ; Smith- Catalogue of Coins in the Calcutta Museum 1. pp. 64, 89 ; Banerji - JASB. 1908 p. 91. See also Comprehensive History of India (Comp. H.I. p. 252-3).

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CHAPTER V

THE KUSHANA REMNANTS IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE KIDAR KUSHANAS

The history of the Kushans in Central Asia begins afresh in the latter half of the third century A.D. As proposed earlier the eastern expansion of the Sassanians under Ardashir and his successor Shapur was only a temporary phase. After a brief interruption, life resumed its activity afresh at the sites which were subjected to invasion from the north-west of the Sasanian, causing damage and destruction at many sites. The heartland of the Kushana empire in Bactria and the Kabul Valley had no doubt passed on into the hands of the Sasanian. According to al-Tabari,[1] Ardashir in his compaign to the east of Iran occupied Seistan, Abre Shahr (the modern Nishapr), Meru, Balkh and Khwarazm. He is reported to have received a surrender mission from the king of the Kushanas in A.D. 227. The inscription of Shapur I[2] (A.D. 240-72) from Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis in three languages - Pahlavi, Parthian and Greek - lists the provinces of the Sasanian Empire, as it was about A.D. 260. The provinces include the Kushan empire as far as Peshawar, Under the rule of king of kings Ardashir, were satrap king of Abrenak (= Abar-shahr, present Khurasan), as well as the kings of Meru, the Sakas and Kerman. Each of these are called 'Ardashir'. The information provided by Tabari is however different and a little more detailed. In his words, 'On that day he (Ardashir) acquired the title of Shahan-Shah (King of Kings). Thereupon he marched to Hanadhan and took it by force, and likewise the remaining highlands, Adharbaigan, Armenia and (the district of) Mosul. Then he marched from Mosul to Suristan i.e. the Sarvad, took possession of it and built another town, called Beh-Ardasir on the west bank of the Tigris opposite the town of Ctesiphon...

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Then he marched back from the Sawad to Istakhr, from there first to Sogistan, then to Gurgan, then to Abrasahr, Meru, Balkh and Khwarizim to the farthest boundaries of the provinces of Khorasam, whereupon he returned to Meru. After he had killed many people and sent their heads to the Fire temple of Anahedh he returned from Meru to Pars and settled in Gov. Then envoys of the king of the Kusan, of the kings of Turan and Makran came to him with declaration of their submission.

Sassanid-Kushana Relations :

It seems evident on the basis of the inscription from Naqsh-i-Rustam and the account of Tabari that by the time of Shapur I only a fragment of the original Kushan empire existed as an independent kingdom. The date of the annexation of the kingdoms mentioned in the record is not specified. There is actually no reference to the administrative arrangements which existed at the time of Shapur, under the Sassanians. It is, however, proposed by Hezzfeld[3] that Shapur was one of the earliest Sassanian governors known from their coins. It is suggested that the first governor of the province annexed to the Sassanian empire was the future emperor Shapur I before his accession to the Iranian throne. It is equally proposed that for the next hundred years after A.D. 260, the area of Bactria, Sogdiana and Gandhara remained under the governors of the Sassanian royal family.[4] The coins of these governors have been analysed and classified by several scholars[5] including Hezzfeld. The list of governors includes the following - Shapur (later on Shapur I of Iran, who ruled between A.D. 240-272). The others were Ardashir I, Kushanshah, Ardashir II Kushanshah, Firuz I Kushan-

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shah, Hormizd I Kushanshah (c. 277-86) who rebelled against Bahram II of Iran, and Firuz II Kushanshah, Hormizd II Kushanshah who later on became Hormizd II of Iran and ruled between A.D. 302-9, followed by Vahran I Kushanshah and Vahran II Kushanshah, reigning in A.D. 360.

The Sassanian Governors, Kushans and Rome :

The information about these governors and their role in subsequent Sassanian-Kushan history and relationship is very scanty. A passage in the Latin Historia Augusta seems to refer to the rebellion of the Kushanshah Hormizd I against his brother Bahram II (A.D. 276-93)[6]. The same events are supposed to occur in a Latin panegyric, according to Marquart. The passage records that when the Roman emperor Carus occupied Ctesiphon in A.D. 283, the Sasanian Bahran II (same as Varaham II) was engaged in a war with his rival in eastern Iran, forcing him to leave his capital unguarded before the Roman advance.[7] The kings brother who held the important post of Viceroy of Seistan, attempted to seize the throne. He was supported in his rebellion by the Kushan prince who encouraged by the laxity of the suzerain power, hoped to regain his independence. Bahram II was therefore menaced on two fronts. The threat to his crown being imminent, he concluded a peace treaty with Rome, ceding northern Mesopotania and Armenia. The evidence of coins is suggestive of deposed Hormizd I Kushanshah occupying both Merv[V] (where he coined gold) and Herat where silver coins were issued. Ultimately Hormizd was defeated.

Sassanian Internecine struggle and the Kushans :

The clash between the main and the junior Sassanian line of princes continued much longer. Bahram III who succeeded his

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father Bahram II was deposed after a reign of a few months by Narsah, a son of Shapur I and the Sasanian throne thus passed to the junior branch of the family. The reign of the new sovereign was equally disturbing consequent to involvement in war with Rome which was a disaster. Rome made important gains at the expense of Persia and left the peace undisturbed for forty years. Iran was no longer strong enough to resist the revival of the Kushan kingdom through force. He attempted to contain the threat by the marriage of Hormizd II, son and successor of Narsah (A.D. 303-9) to a Kushan princess, who was pledged for maintaining friendly relations between the two regal families - the Sasanian and the Kushans.

Impact of Sassanian art in the East :

The death of Horamizd II left the imperial throne to a minor Shapur II who had a long and eventful reign of seventy years (A.D. 309-79). During his ministry the Kushan kingdom took advantage of the internal disorders and weakness of Iran to recover its former power. It as well made a number of territorial gains at the expense of its neighbour. On attaining his majority, Shapur II emulated the example of his namesake and began operations against the Kushans, smashing their empire and the territory was annexed to Iran as a new province, governed by kings chosen from among the Sasanians princes residing at Balkā. This event had equally its cultural importance. In fact, cultural expansion followed on the heals of political success. The Sasanian victory opened the door for the spread of Sasanian art to the East reaching the distant areas of Chinese Turkestan.

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The Little Kushans and Chionite threats :

The threat to security in the East being removed, Shapur started hostilities against the Romans in the West to retrieve the lost prestige of the Iranian nation. The struggle, however, proved indecisive with the titling of balances both ways. This situation did not last long. The impending invasion of Little Kushans and Chionite Ephthalites threatened the eastern wing of the Sasanian empire. The campaign against these nomads ended with the grant of concessions to them. They settled down in Kushan territory as 'confederate' and agreed to furnish troops to the king in his struggle with Rome. The coinage of the Sasanians and the Later Kushans bear evidence of intimate relationship subsisting between them.[8] When Shapur II besieged Amida in A.D. 350, Indian elephants and perhaps Indian troops served under his command.[9] Meanwhile the Kushan dominion in North-Western India seems to have gradually declined as is evident from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The Gupta emperor is reported to receive the homage of the 'Devaputras Shahis and Shahanu-Shahis.'[10]

The Kushano-Sassanian governors and their Coinage :

The Kushano-Sasanian governors whose coins have been found in present Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia are to be distinguished by their characteristic and individual headdress[11] such as Bahram II has the form of a rainishorus. The coins in general are divided into three groups. The first group of coins was minted on the model of the coins of Vasudeva[12] with a figure of a standing king having an individual crown on the head, and the legend consisting of the name and titles

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Shaonano - 'the king of kings'. On the reverse is a representation of Siva and the bull with the inscription borzaoando iazado, the exalted deity. These coins were minted at Balkh, as the name Bahlo (Balkh) occurs on the obverse of some issues, and probably in other centres as well. This type is represented both by bronze as also by gold coins. The second group has on the obverse a portrait of the ruler with a crown, specific for each ruler. (There are atleast 8 types of crown). On the reverse a fire altar is represented. These coins were minted in Meru and Herat. The legend on this type is in Pehlavi script in Middle Persian language.

The third group consists of bronze coins of large thickness and sometimes in irregular shape. The portrait is similar to that of the second group. The language of the legend is Middle Persian in Pehlavi script on some issues and in Bactrian alphabet on others. A.H.Bivar in his study on 'The Kushano-Sassanian Coin Series'[13], however, divides the above named coinage into five classes of fabric - the Gold scyphates, incised in Kushan cursive, Gold and Silver of Sassanid fabric with Pehlavi inscriptions, the series of small bronze with inscriptions in Kushan cursive or Pehlavi, the series of large bronze with inscriptions in Kushan cursive only and the Kidarite stater with which is classified certain issues of Varaharan II Kushanshah. As in the case of Sassanian series, each ruler seems to be designed by his peculiar head-dress. The scyphates are evolved from the series of Vasudeva with the standing king on the obverse extending his right hand to the five altar. On the reverse stands Siva in front of the bull and to the right is the legend OHPO in Kushan unical script. In another group forming the first slip in the development of the

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Kushano-Sassanian pattern is the presence of a symbol, the triratna (W) on the obverse. All the scyphates of Hormizd bear the triratna (W) in the right obverse fillet. In the reign of Varahran I Kushanshah, the place of the triratna is sometimes taken by another symbol named by Bivar the 'tulip' (W). The last ruler associated with this type of coinage is identified with Kidara Kushana, as proposed by Ghirshman and accepted by Bivar[14]. The Kidara scyphates were in full circulation by A.D. 388, when the tepe Marinjan hoard was buried. It contained an scyphate of Varahran I and eleven of Kidara with Sassanian drachm of Shapur II (A.D. 310-79), Ardashir II (A.D. 379-383) and Shapur III (A.D. 383-388). Since no Sassanian coin was buried, it is presumed that Kidara scyphates were in full circulation by that date and had reached the final stage of development.

The Kidarite drachmal in part overlap the period of issue of the gold scyphates. Inscriptions are in Pahlavi, on some example in Brahmi and on others, exceptionally, in Kushan cursive. The mints issuing these coins extended from Meru and Herat well across the plains of the Punjab. The series commences with issues of the 'ram's horn' king from his scyphates as Varahran II Kushanshah. The same crown appears with the three - quarter frontal portrait and Brahmi inscription Ki-da-ra Ku-sa-na-sa which corresponds with the legends of the Kidara scyphate. A similar Brahmi inscription also accompanies another portrait in which a mural crown of palmetic is surrounded by crescent and 'artichoke'[15]. These issues seem to imply that the first Kidara was succeeded by atleast one other ruler using the same name. Certain gold pieces of devolved Kushan style as well bear the name Kidara. Some of

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these might be issues of the first, or more probably of the second Kidara ruler.

The Kidar Kushans :

The story of this dynasty in its broadest outline could be recasted from the statements of Chinese annalists as also from a study of the coins of this dynastic ruler. The 'Wei-Shu' or annals of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 386-556) records[16] the reference to the kingdom of Ta-Yueh-Chi which had for its capital the town of Lou-Kien-Chi to the west of Fo-ti-Cha at a distance of 14,500 li from Tai. The Ta-Yueh-Chi found themselves threatened on the north by Jouan-Jouan and were exposed on several occasions to their raids. They, therefore, migrated to the west and established themselves in the town of Po-lo - 2,100 li from Fo-ti-Cha. Then king Ki-to-lo a brave and war like prince, raised an army, crossed to the south of the Great Mountain and invaded Northern India where the five kingdoms to the north of Kan-tho-lo submitted to him. The Chinese terms mentioned in the text have been identified by Marquart and endorsed by M.F.C. Martin as under : Ta-Yueh-Chi - Great Kushan, Lou-Kien-Chi (Balkh), Fo-ti-Cha - Bamiyar, Tai - The Wei capital in Northern Shansi, Jouan-Jouan - A tribe in Central Asia akin to the white Huns ; Po-lo - Balkan on the north of the old bed of the Oxus whence it flowed into the Caspien Sea, East of Krasnovodsk ; and Ki-tu-lo - Kidara, the true form of his name as shown by the Brahmi script on his coins. The Great Mountains are identified with Hindukush and Kan-tho-lo corresponds to Gandhara comprising the modern Peshawar District. The date of the exposure of the Ta-Yueh-Chi to the Jouan Jouan by Ma-touan-li who refers to Ta-Yueh-Chi enjoying peace and prosperity until the time of the second Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-263) when they were

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threatened on the north by the Jouan-Jouan and were exposed on several occasions to their raids. The Chinese Analysts do not carry the story of the Great Kushanas beyond Kidara's invasion of India.

The Little Yueh-Chi and the Little Kushans :

The translation of Ma-touan-lin by Remusat, however, provides additional information in this context. According to this source, the capital of the Little Yueh-Chi was the town of Fou-leou-Cha with the governor at that time being a son of Ki-to-lo. He was placed in charge of this town by his father when the prince was forced, by the attacks of the Jouan-Jouan, to march westward. The Little Yueh-Chi are identified with Little Kushan and Fou-leou-Cha with Peshawar. It appears from Specht's translation of 'Wei-Shi' that 'Kidara' having been pursued by the Hiung-nu and having returned to the west, ordered his son to establish himself in the town of Fou-leou-Cha. These people are consequently called Little Yueh-Chi. No further details about the Little Kushanas are provided by the Chinese, but it is stated about their country that merchants from it introduced great improvements in glass making into China in the time of the second Wei-Dynasty, during the reign of Tai-Van (A.D. 398-409). This suggests that the establishment of the Little Kushan Dynasty in Gandhara should be dated prior to A.D. 409.

A Brief History :

A brief history, as sketched on the basis of the available evidence, in broad outlines could be as follows. At sometime between A.D. 221 and 409 a branch of the Great Kushans was driven from Bactria by the Jouan-Jouan and it dispersed in two directions - (a) westward along the northern borders of the Sasanian Empire towards the Caspian, and southwards, across the Hindukush, into

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Northern India. The southern branch was led by Kidara and it occupied Gandhara Later on, Kidara again felt pressure from some Central Asian tribe, and leaving his son in Peshawar, Kidara moved to westwards to resist the invader. The Kushans at that time were not strong enough to hold Bactria, but were in a position to retain hold over the area along the basin of the Kabul river as could prevent the foes from crossing the Hindukush from Balkh.

Dispersal of the Kushans from Bactria :

The date of the dispersal of the Kushans from Bactria is narrowed down[17] by a study of the Kushan-Sassanian coins. These are divided by Herzfeld into two groups : a) Those struck by Princes of the Sasanian Royal Family as Viceroys of Balkh and Meru. These bear the title 'King of Kings of the Kushans'. b) A later series struck by provincial governors, bearing the title 'King of the Kushans'. The Kushans could not have been driven from Bactria by the Jouan-Jouan till the end of the later series, and Sasanian rule in Bactria could scarcely have survived the upheavals accompanying this dispersal. It was proposed by Hezzfeld that the first series continued from about A.D. 230-284 when on the Sasanian conquest of Sakastan, the heir-apparent was transferred as viceroy to that province. The second series commenced at that date and continued to some extent in the reign of Shapur II (A.D. 309-379).[18] According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Shapur IIwas engaged in wars on his eastern borders from about A.D. 350-358 and since the Kushans are named among his opponents, the series of Kushano-Sasanian coins might have continued upto the end of these wars.[19] It is proposed by Martin that the Eastern wars of Shapur II which ended in A.D. 358 were directly caused

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by the dispersal of the Kushans from Bactria and that this date occured during the reign of Kidara.

Kidara and Piro - their Coinage :

A study of the Kidara type of coins of this ruler and his successor Piro suggests that the two were next to one another in dynastic succession. The salient points which are common to the coins of these two rulers are full-faced bust, obverse legend in Brahmi script, shoulders draped with palmettes and fire altar in reverse has bust of Hormizd appearing in flames. It is proposed that Piro was the son of Kidara and was in charge of Peshawar. The coins of Piro have a crown of two rams horns surmounted by a fluted globe with flanking fillets, beard passing through a ring and shoulders are draped with palmeltes. The coins of Varaharan are very similar to Piro type II, Though the crown is different it is surmounted by a fluted globe with flanking fillets. The other features, namely beard passing through a ring and both the shoulders being draped with palmettes, are the same. These factors suggest that Varaharan succeeded Piro in Peshawar.

It is as well proposed that the king's face to the right is in accordance with the usual Sasanian practice, while the portrayl of the full face is suggestive of the greater degree of independence after throwing off the Arsacidan Yoke. The rebels and independent princes struck coins with portraits either full face or to the left. In accordance with this principle it appears that Kidara was at first feudatory to the Sasanian empire and he left became independent, and that during the reign of Piro, the Sasanians reasserted their claims to suzerainty, as this king and his successor Varaharan both struck coins with their

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portraits to the right in acknowledgement of their claim. The change of the legend from Brahmi to Pehlavi seems to confirm that Sasanian influence was strong in Gandhara in this period.

Date of Kidara :

The testimony of the Chinese historians and the evidence provided by the coins would suggest that Kidara flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Further, the coins suggest that he was at one time tributary to Shapur II but later on became independent. Some echoes of these events are supposed to be preserved by contemporary historians as also in the inscription at Persepolis discovered by Hezzfeld. Reference has been made to Ammianus Marcellinus, an officer of the Roman Army, who fought against Shapur II in Mesopotamia. According to his information, the Sasanian ruler was occupied between A.D. 350-385 in war against tribes on his eastern frontier and that his most important adversaries were the Chionitae and Euseni. The latter name has been recognised as a textual corruption for Cuseni or Kushana. In A.D. 358, Shahpur made peace with these tribes to concentrate on Rome. In the year following he invaded Mesopotamia and besieged the Roman fortress of Amida (modern Diasbekr). The Cuseni or Kushans found one of the contingents in their compaign on behalf of the Sasanians.[21]

The Persepolis inscription dated in the year 47 of Shapur II corresponding to A.D. 356, was written by Slok, High Judge of Kabul who prayed in this record for Shapur's safe return to Kabul. It thus confirms Ammian's statement that Shahpur II spent the winter of A.D. 350-357 in the further most limits of his kingdom, on the borders of the Chionitae and the Euseni, and Kabul was Shapur's base in the compaign of A.D. 350. Several of the Meru coins of

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Shapur found in the excavations at Taxila[22] by Marshall were probably brought down during the invasion of Kidara which, according to Martin, must have taken place before A.D. 356. The Armenian historian Faustos[23] of Byzantium refers on two occasions (Book V, Chaps. 7 and 37) to warfare between the Kushans and Sasanians in A.D. 367-68. It is inferred that the Kushans were the aggressors and inflicted two crushing defeats on the Sasanians, annihilating one of their armies and, one another occasion, forcing Shapur II to fly for his life from the battle-field. These events were the immediate results of Kidar's declaration of independence which seems to have taken place in 367-68 A.D. Martin as well draws attention to Cunningham's reading of a date either 239 or 339 in the reverse legend of type II of Kidara's coins. If the date in the legend is taken as 239 and is placed in Sten Konow's rendering of Kanishka's era in A.D. 128-29, then it corresponds to 367-68, thus coinciding with the reading of the coin legend with the date of war as provided by Faustos.

Shahpur III and Kidara :

The date suggested[24] by Martin for the establishment of the kingdom of Kidara in the sixties of the fourth century A.D. is however contested by K. Enoki and R. Gobl who place this event somewhat later.[25] The latter thoroughly took into consideration the prototypes of the Kidarite drachms in the Sasanian coinage from the period of Shapur II (A.D. 309-79) and Shapur III (A.D. 383-388). It is contended by Enoki after an analysis of the text. Pei-Shuh which its author, Li-Yen-nien wrote that 'from the time of the Yen-Wei (A.D. 386-550/557) and Chin (A.D. 265-480) dynasties

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of the western territories swallowed each other up and it was not possible to obtain a clear idea of events that took place at that time.'[26] Enoki proposed that the reference to Kidara in the text Pei-Shi was based on the report of Tung-wan sent to the west in A.D. 437. It could be inferred that the Chinese sources do not provide any date in connection with Kidara - his rise to power, the foundation of the kingdom and the annexation of the territories to the south of the Hindukush, including Gandhara. It should be dated much earlier, between A.D. 390 and A.D. 430, probably before A.D. 410. It is as well proposed that the advance of the Kidarites to the south-east continued even in the middle of the 5th century. A considerable portion of Central and Western Punjab was under Kidarite rule which posed danger to the Gupta ruler Kumaragupta I (A.D. 414-455).

Kidarites and the Hunas :

A Russian scholar E. Zeimal equates the Kidarites with the Huna invaders mentioned in Gupta inscriptions of the time of Skandagupta and quotes the Bhitari inscription[27] in this context. In another inscription of this Gupta ruler, the Chionites, Kidarites are mentioned as Mlecchas,[28] according to this scholar. The triumphant tone of the inscriptions after these encounters does not warrant the extinction of the Kidarite state in Western Punjab. The coup de grace to the last remnants of the Kushans was provided by the Hephthalite rulers Toramana and Mihirakula who appeared on the political scene around A.D. 500. No information is available regarding the clash between the Kidarites and the Hephthalites resulting in the overthrow of the former by the latter. It is, however, known that the name Kidara was retained as an honorific title, meaning 'valiant',

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'hero','honoured' long after the extinction of the Kidarite kingdom, as the original Kidara himself styled himself on his coins 'King of Kushan' (Kushana Sahi) even years after the end of the Kushan empire of Kanishka and his successors.

Later Sasanid-Kidarite Relations :

The relations of the Kidarites with the Sasanians as well call for reference and recording. During the second quarter of the fifth century the Kidarite state was again involved in fighting the Sasanian rulers. Yazdgird II (A.D. 439-457) made attempts to regain the territory lost to the Kushans by undertaking several eastern compaigns. His example was followed by his successor Hormizd III (A.D. 457-459). As a zealous Zoroastrian, he tried to convert Armenia to Mazdaism which led to a general rising, while he was involved in wars with the Ephthalites, the Kidarite Kushans. The Iranian forces were defeated. Yazdgard however marched towards Armenia, crushed the insurgents and carried off the leaders representing the people and the clergy to Iran.[29] The internal situation further deteriorated under Feroz (A.D. 459-84) with the country torn by religious strife and famine ravaging town and country. The wars undertaken by Peroz against the Ephthalites brought the country to the verge of disaster. The king was defeated and taken prisoner and regained his liberty only in return for a heavy tribute. Several years of peace on the Ephthalite front was helpful in Peroz restoring his financial position and to raise troops for a further attack on the eastern enemies. In A.D. 484 he attacked the Ephthalites, suffered a reverse which proved costly. This ill-fated enterprise cost his life.

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Peroz's victory & Economic Decline of Iran :

After several years of famine, the wars of Peroz and his final defeat, Iran was on the brisk of economic disaster. The vassal states were in revolt and the country was plagued by nomad raids. The northern frontier had to be defeated against the invasions of the Huns while the Hepthalites were exacting tribute from Iran under Chosroes I (A.D. 531-79) was stopped. The monarchy under him had emerged victorious from the long struggle between the aristocracy and people. Forming an alliance with the western Turks, Chores finally smashed the Ephthalites power, its possessions were partitioned among the allies, and the eastern frontier of Iran was re-established on the Oxus. In the north, attacks by the Huns were successfully resisted, and in the south Yemen was annexed to the Empire.[30]

The Final Review :

The Kidarite Kushanas flourishing in the latter part of the fourth or early in the fifth century A.D. in parts of the Punjab, North-west Frontier and Kashmir, have left a large number of coins in pale and much debased gold. They bear Indian names like Kritavirya, Sarvavasa, Bhasvan, Siladitya, Prakasa and Kusala. It is, however, impossible to arrange these chronologically, nor ascertain the periods of their reign or the extent of their territories. The coins are crude copies of the sacrificing king and enthroned Ardocho type of the late Kushanas. The coins of another tribe Gadahara or Gadakhara as well belong to this period. The coins issued by the chief of this tribe have also the syllable Kshuna so common on the Kidara coins. Three types of Gadahara coinage were distinguished by R.D.Banerji[31] on the basis of the coin legends, such as Pereda, Kirada and

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Samudra. 'Kirada' as well appears as a variant on the coins of the Kidara Kushans, while 'Samudra' is supposed to be similar to the 'standard' type coin of Samudragupta. It might as well suggest that the Gadahara tribe atleast acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta monarch Samudragupta. This is not likely because of the time factor with the Gupta monarch being placed a century ahead in the fourth century A.D. and the tribe issuing these coins in the fifth century A.D. It is difficult to assign the limits of this tribal territory, but it is quite likely to have taken over a part of the dominions of the Kidara Kushanas in their declining stage. Both the Kidaras and the Gadaharas, however, appear to have been swept away by Huna onslaught in the middle of the fifth century A.D. finally eroding the last semblance of the Kushans in North-west India and, of course, Central Asia much earlier.

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FOOTNOTES:

1. Al-Tabari - translation by Th. Noldecke - Geschichte der Perse und Arabes Zur Zeit Sasanider. Leiden. 1879. pp.17-18. The historical accuracy of this passage has been questioned by Ghirshman. Begram p. 99 and Marquart- Eran Sahr p. 48. According to R.N.Frye, Tabari's statement that the king of the Kushanas submitted to Ardeshir I is open to question. (The Golden Age of Persia. London. 1977 p. 36).

2. Maricq. Syria. XXV (1958) pp. 295-360 ; Sprengling. Third Century Iran ; Henning. BSOAS. IX. (1939) pp. 823-850) ; Rosenfield. Dynasty Art of the Kushanas (Ref. only p. 116). There is a lengthy recital of the conquests of Shapur I, and the name of the Kushan empire was included in the districts which comprised the eastern monarchs of his realm. According to Rosenfield, the text states very carefully that only a part of the Kushana empire fell under his rule - upto before Psk-bwr (identified by many with Peshawar), seat of the Kushana kings in Gandhara, and upto the limits of Kash (Kashgar), Sug (Sogdiana) and Tashkend. According to Frye, the inscription seems to mean that the Kushan kingdom which was in submission to Shapur, claims that its boundaries extended as far as the plains in the sub-continent and in the north to the borders of the State of Kashgar, Sogdiana and the Shash of the Arabs or the Tashkend region (Op.cit p. 36). Some scholars like Lukonin (1969 pp. 29-30) and Zeimal (1968. pp. 92-100) doubt the credibility of the inscription relating to the description of the territory controlled by the Sasanians. Harmata (Late Bactrian Inscription's Acta Antiqua XVII. 1965) and V.A. Liushits (1969 p.56) however consider it as a reliable historical source material, and all these territories including Kushan Sahr were part of the Sasanian State under Shapur I.

3. Gavin Hambly. Central Asia. London. 1969. p. 51. Ghirshman proposed that Shapur must have been active in the eastern part of his empire in the early part of his reign about A.D. 242. (Begram. p. 160) ; also in Cahiers d'histoire mondiale III (1957). pp. 698-713. All indications are that any Sasanian occupation of the major Kushan centres in the mid-third century was ephemeral. The most important evidence in this respect is the substantial number of Later Kushan coins - the Vasudeva Type IV and V from Begram, the Kabul Valley and Badakshal which belong to the period before the Kushano-Sasanian coinage of Hermizd II (A.D. 303-309). Rosenfield. Op.cit pp. 116-117). Ghirshman equally suggested that there was no major break in the continuity of Kushan rule after the conquest of Shapur I (Chinonites et Hephthalites p. 72).

4. According to Frye, there is no evidence of change in the status of Kushan-Sasanian relations under the immediate succession of Shapur I including Narseh (A.D. 293-302), but we do not know whether perhaps some of the Kushans did secure complete independence from the Sasanians. Some time, at the end of the third or during the fourth century, Sasanian princes became rulers of the Kushans, according to the coins issued by them, carrying the title 'King of the Kushans',

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'Great King', or 'King of Kings of the Kushans'. It seems that most of these coins were issued during the rule of Shapur II (309-79) and his immediate successor (Lukonin. 1969. pp. 39-44), quoted by Frye (Op.cit. p. 371). Frye, however, feels that it is difficult to point out the extent to which the Sasanians replaced the Kushans in the east (p. 37). One may, however, consider the rule of Shapur II the climax of Sasanian rule in the east, and soon after him the Hunnic invasions changed the picture.

5. E.Herzfeld. Kushano-Sasanian Coins (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 38. Calcutta. 1930 ; A.D.H.Bivai- 'The Kushano-Sasanian Coin Series' JNSI. XVIII. 1956. pp. 13-42; J.Rosenfield. Kushano-Sasanian Coinage' - Op.cit. pp. 117-120.

6. Scriptores Historiae Augustal Carus 8, XII. Panegrici. Latina. ed. Bachrers 288 (quoted by Hambly. Op.cit. 52).

7. Ghirshman. Iran (Pelicans. 1954) pp. 294 ff.

8. Rapson. E.J. : Indian Coins (Grundriss) 74 p. 19. Rosenfield. Op.cit. pp. 117 ff. on Kushano-Sasanian coins.

9. Rawlinson. Seventh Oriental Monarchy (Op.cit p. 196-7).

10. Fleet. J.F. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. Cal. p. 114.

11. Bivar. A.H. 'The Absolute Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Governors in Central Asia' Prolegomena (Ed. I. Harmata). Budapest. 1979 pp. 321. The headdress is as follows :

Ohrmaza I Kushanshâh	--	Lion's Head
Varaharam I "	--	Border of Pearls
Peroz II "	--	Large Crescent
Varaharam II "	--	Ramishorns
Kidara (named Invader)	--	Border of Palinetics

12. Rosenfield. Op.cit. p. 117. The Kushano-Sasanian coins are a body of large, cup shaped aurhi which mingle in suitable measure elements from imperial Sasanian iconography and from the Kushan numismatic tradition. (Cunningham. 'Numismatic Chronicle', 1893. pp. 166-202 ; Bataileo. Arithuse. 1928. pp. 19-35 ; Hezzfeld. Kushano-Sasanian Coins pp. 19-35 ; Vasner. Zeitschrift Fur Numismatik. 42 (1935) pp. 24-58 ; Bivar. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. XVIII (1956). pp. 13-42 ; Gobl. 'Numismatik Zeitschrift', 77 (1957) pp. 18-27; These coins are primarily from the same general area as the Vasudeva Types IV and V from Begram, the Kabul Valley, Badakshan and the region north of the Hindukush. (Rosenfield p. 117).

13. JNSI. Vol. XVIII. (1956) pp. 13-42.

14. Ghirshman. Leschioniles - Hephthalites pp. 73-78. Bivar. Op.cit p. 19.

15. Bivar. Op.cit p. 27, No. 43.

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16. M.F.C.Martin in his Paper 'Coins of Kidara and the Little Kushana'. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal - Letters, Vol. III. 1937. No.2. pp. 23 ff) provides the English translation of the French rendering of the passage as provided by Spech's translation of the 'Wei-Shu' along with Glossary. He as well notices Julien's translation of 'Ma-touam-lin', and Remusat's translation of Ma-touam-lin, and as well provides the glossary.

17. ibid. p. 17.

18. He was an officer in the Roman army who fought against Shapur II in Mesopotania and notices the events between A.D. 350 to 385 when this monarch was occupied in war against tribes on his eastern frontier and that his most important opponents were the Chionite and Euseni - a textual corruption for Cuseni or Kushana. (Martin. Op.cit p. 30).

19. Op.cit p. 17.

20. Of the silver coin, five types are closely inter-linked Kidara type I, Kidara type II, Piro-type I, Piro type II and Varahran. (Martin. Op.cit p. 28).

21. Martin. Op.cit p. 36.

22. Marshall. Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report. 1915-16. p. 36.

23. Faustos of Byzantium - Translated by Victor Langlois. Paris. 1887 quoted by Martin.

24. Op. cit p. 38.

25. These views are quoted by Zeimal in the chapter entitled 'The Kidarite Hun Kingdom in Central Asia' for the UNESCO sponsored 'History of Central Asia' Vol. III.

26. Enoki. 1969. pp. 8-9. The Chinese text Pei-Shin written in A.D. 643 and covering the events between A.D. 386 and 581, provides detailed account about the Kidarite state. The original base of the kingdom was the territory of Tokharistan (modern northern ~~most~~ provinces of Afghanistan, and the southern most part of Uzbekistan and Tajkistan) which was formerly part of the Kushan kingdom and subsequently of Sasanian Kushanshahr. Its capital, Ying-Chien-Shih was situated there, possibly on the site of the ancient capital of Bactria in the region of modern Balkh.

27. Bhitari Inscription. Fleet. Corpus. Op.cit No.13.

28. Junagarh Inscription. ibid. no. 14.

29. Ghirshman. Iran (Pelican) p. 300. Armenian, Greek, Syriac and other sources provide information about Yazdgird II and subsequent Sasanian kings and their relation with the eastern state. The enemies of Iran noted are Kushanas,

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Huns (in Armenian sources) and Chionites (in Latin sources). Prisons also notices the war with the Kidarite Huns. Often the land of the Kushanas or Kushan regions are mentioned, signifying the former territory of the Kushan kingdom or approximately the Sasanian Kushan Shahr). (Ref. Zeimal's Paper. Op.cit.).

30. Ghirshman. Op.cit pp. 304-05. Chosroes I was identified by oriental tradition as a defender of the people, a lover of justice, and a stern yet a benevolent ruler. His reign has been considered as the most brilliant period of the Sasanian age, both for its military and diplomatic triumphs and for the achievement of Iranian civilization in art, science and literature. (ibid. p. 305).

31. JASB. IV. 1908. p. 93.

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CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION

Administration in a general way is determined by the nature of the State - its physical situation as also the socio-economic organisation of the people. Various external forces and the preceding set-up as well serve as guiding principles and procedures in running the machinery. The controlling authority as also relation and liaison between different wings, and the participation of people in running the organisational set-up are matters of importance in this context. The nature of communication in the State is also taken into consideration for containing disruptive forces. Further, administration need not be purely for the maintenance of law and order in the State ; it is also for meeting threat from external aggression. Finally, the nature of the State determines the frame-work for preservation of peace and ensuring mental, material and moral progress of the people under its care. The two-fold aspects of administration to serve as a safety valve against external pressures and internal dissention, and equally to ensure prosperity and welfare of the people have to be kept in view. The rise and fall of kingdoms and empires depend to a considerable extent on the proper or improper functioning of the administrative set-up.

In the context of the norms of administration as noted above, it is difficult to suggest the extent to which the Kushana rulers accepted these in evolving their administrative set-up. Their empire was vast and comprised of people of different nationalities. It was really a difficult task for them to devise an appropriate system for efficiently administering the vast

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extent of territory stretching from Balkh and Khotan to Bihar in the east, and from Kashmir in the north to upper Sindh in the south-west. Extremities separated by long distances in days of difficult communication demanded a decentralized scheme of administration with powers distributed among different units forming some sort of hierarchy. This had in no way affected or alienated the powers of the ruler who was an absolute monarch. The Kushanas followed the patterns of Achaemenian Satrapis, although the Saka-Kshatrapas of Western India[1] seem to have enjoyed complete independent authority, except in the use of high-sounding titles like Maharaja Rajatiraja. Their position was different from those Kushana Kshatrapas of the north-western and eastern part of the empire. To the latter category belonged Mahakshatrapa Kharapallana, Kshatrapas Vanaspara, Kshatrapa Liaka and a few others, whose names figure in Kushana records.

The Position and Powers of the Ruler :

The Kushana rulers seemed to have exercised unfettered powers as exhibited by the legends on their coins. A study of those titles and epithets used in records and coins would be worthwhile. The usual epithets Maharaja Rajatiraja or Rajadhiraja are adopted by all the rulers.[2] Wima Kadphises is also called Sarvalokaisvara and Mahisvara or Mahesvara.[3] The first one would mean 'lord of all the worlds', while the next one would confine his authority only to earth. It is, therefore, better to take it as Mahesvara, i.e. a devotee of Siva (Maheśvara), equally confirmed by the presence of Nandi on his coins. Besides the Indian titles, the Greek ones Basileus Basileun and the Iranian Shaonano Shao[4] corresponding to the later Shahanshah suggest that the

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Kushana ruler was equally anxious to project his regal position among his subjects of different nationalities in terms of their traditional concepts of monarchy. The divine origin of the king is also evinced by the use of the title Devaputra[5] in inscriptions in analogy to the Chinese respect for their emperor. Another title Kaisara[6] traced in the Ara inscription of King Kanishka along with other Indian titles was derived from the Roman epithet for the Emperor. It was more in tune with the contemporary western monarchy for political and commercial considerations. The sum total of the entire exercise was to elevate the status of the ruler both among the subjects as also in the contemporary world. The Kushan rulers intended to assert their position as equals with the greatest monarchs - eastern and western - to facilitate their relations - cultural and political.

The Kshatrapas and the Mahakshatrapas :

The term Kshatrapa in Sanskrit literature[7] is used in the sense of 'dominion', 'rule' and 'power', as exercised by gods and men.[8] It is a vedic word meaning ruler. Kshatra was as well denoted in the past. The military or the reigning body, the members of which were generally called Rajanya. Later on, it was applied to the second military ruling class.[9] In the Brahmanas it points to the rank or member of the reigning or military order. The size of the dominion of any Kshatrapas was not covered by this term. It corresponds to Satrapa or head of a province or state of which the earliest historical reference is provided by the accounts relating to the Achaemenian emperor Darius.[10] His inscriptions as also the Historica of Herodotus mention the division of his empire into a number of satrapies. So also Alexander

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had parcelled out his conquered empire in North-west India and Sindh into a number of Satrapies under Indian and Greek Heads.[11] Even before the Kushanas, we hear of Kshatrapas of Kapisa and Abhisara Prastha,[12] and of Mathura.[13] The Kushanas followed the pattern of their predecessors, with the position of the Kshatrapas of Western India being different from those mentioned in the Kushana record.

The inscriptions of the time of Kanishka have reference to several Kshatrapas. The Sarnath records[14] dated in the year 3 of Maharaja Kanishka are the earliest one mentioning the names of a Kshatrapa Vanaspara and a Mahakshatrapa Kharapallana. The donor Friar Bala associates the names of these two administrative heads in the pious act of dedication of the Bodhisattva statue. Besides the two names, reference is also made to the name of the ruler and the date of the record. The name of Friar Bala, the Sarnath statue donor, as well figure in another record of dedication at Sravasti,[15] but in this one there is no reference to the Kshatrapas, but the king's name either Kanishka or Huvishka - the first two letters being mutilated - is prominently mentioned. The two gradations of administrative heads in the same record and at one place could suggest devolution of responsibility among these heads.[16] Vanaspara was actually the local head at Varanasi as his name comes first in the main record in which Kharapallana is not accorded any title. The scribe's error seems to have been subsequently corrected with the association of Kharapallana as well in the pious act of dedication. He was probably the provincial head with headquarters at Mathura. Another record from Anyor (Mathura)[17] mentions another Kshatrapa Upasika Namida.

The information relating to the Kshatrapas in the North-

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Western part of the Kushana empire is a little more in detail. Taxila was definitely an administrative seat. In the time of Maues [18], there is a reference to Kshaharata Kshatrapa of Chuksha Liaka Kusuluka whose son Patika had established relics of the Lord Sakyamuni and a Sangharana through Rohinimitra - a navakarmika (architect). During the reign of Jihonika - Zeionises, the Kshatrapa of Chuksha, son of Maniguta, [19] brother of the king, a silver vase of duck shape was donated. Chuska, thus, continued to be an administrative unit which was under the charge of the nephew of this ruler. The Kharoshthi records of the time of Kanishka as well mention a number of Kshatraps, as for instance the Manikiala Stone inscription [20] of the year 18 of the time of Kanishka refers to the Kshatrapa Vesapasa, and Lala, a scion of the Kushana race. The Bronze casket inscription [21] from the same place records the gift of the Kapisa Kshatrapa, the son of the Kshatrapa Granavhryaka. The Zeda inscription [22] of the year 11 records the gift of Hipea Dhia, in honour of the Kshatrapa Liaka. Zeda is a village near Und.

The location of these administrative units on the basis of their reference in the Kushana records would be as follows : Kapisa identified with modern Begram was under a Kshatrapa [23] whose name is not mentioned but his father was a Kshatrapa. The office was probably a hereditary one. Vesapasi of the Manikiala Stone inscription might have been stationed there in the Rawalpindi district. Here ancient buildings, monasteries and massive stone walls were traced in excavations in 1830. It is equally likely that Taxila was the headquarters under this Kshatrapa, and Vesapast's visit to this place was probably for some purpose - religious or administrative. The satrapy of Liaka of the Zeda

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inscription was either at the place of the find-spot of the record, or somewhere near it, to the west of the Indus. It is equally likely that he was some relative of Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka of the Taxila record of the year 78 of the old era. In that case he too has to be placed in Taxila which was an important seat of administration. There might have been two more Kshatrapas - one for Kashmir,[24] and the other for the south-western part of the Kushana empire but evidence for any of the two suggestions is missing. It is equally clear from the names of these Kshatrapas that they were all foreigners, and and some of these like the Kapisa Kshatrapa, son of Kshatrapa Granavhryaka, had a hereditary claim to the office. This factor could be traced in other departments of administration as well.

Dandanayakas and Mahadandanayakas:

The two terms dandanayaka and the higher appellation mahadandanayaka figure prominently in Kushana record[25] and were equally well-known in later times. Their exact connotation and status need be determined in the light of reference to these in later records. Unlike the Kshatrapa or Satrap, these two terms are associated in Kushana administration for the first time. The Mat inscription of the time of Huvishka[26] mentions a Bakanapati whose father was a mahadandanayaka.[27] Another record dated in the year 74 of the time of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Vasudeva notices a mahadandanayaka named Valina. The Manikiala inscription[28] mentions Lala, a scion of the Kushana race as a dandanayaka corresponding to dandanayaka. The two grades of this official like the Kshatrapa are suggestive of graded administrative service with equally higher responsibilities associated with these

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denominations. The higher term suggests seniority in gradation. These two terms are as well noticed in scores of records from the Allahabad Pillar Inscriptions to those from Nagarjuni Kund ones - in Sanskrit and Kanarese, and from the Senas of Bengal to the Chalukyas of Gujarat. The term dandanayaka is equally traced in literature. It has however been translated with different and sometimes with conflicting meanings.[29] As this title is associated with several ones, it should not be very difficult to assess the exact position and power of a dandanayaka. It has been translated as a magistrate,[30] and in another inscription by the same scholar as 'the leader of the four forces of the army',[31] as a 'fortunate general'[32] and as 'commander of forces'.[33] In lexicons, its recorded meaning is 'a rod-applier'[34] or 'a judge'.[35] Prinsep editing the Allahabad Pillar Inscription translated the word as 'administrator of punishment' (magistrate), and 'criminal magistrate'. Fleet editing this record took it in the sense of 'the great leader of the forces'.[36] Aurel Stein translated[37] it as 'the prefect of police', and Ranjit Pandit[38] translating the Rajatarangini took it as 'Commissioner of Police', Military, judicial and police functions are accorded to this official in terms of interpretations of various scholars.

As 'the Commander of the forces' or 'the fortunate general', the dandanayaka was expected to exercise unfettered authority over the armed forces, but he is distinguished from the senani[39] or the general of the army. As a police officer, or a judicial magistrate, his jurisdiction did not extend to matters relating to the armed forces. He is equally distinguished from a dandapasika[40] - 'the wielder of rod'. He was thus not a civil official in the true sense, nor were his activities confined to the battle field as

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'Commander of the forces'. Moreover, one as well finds reference to the much higher appellation mahaprachanda dandanayaka,[41] and the same person is also accorded other titles suggesting other functions. Thus, Harishena of the Allahabad record, besides being a mahadandanayaka - a title inherited from his father mahadandanayaka Dhruvabhatta, he was also a Kumaramatya and a Sandhivigrahika.[42] In another record, the dandanayaka as well holds the titles - mahasamanta and mahapratihara. In the Nagarjuni inscription,[43] he is called mahasamantadhipati and mahatalavara,[44] and had married in the royal household. This official in another record is considered a feudatory, authorised to keep a certain amount of royal levy, and in yet another he is charged to administer 71 villages.[45] There are references to promotions given to dandanayakas as minister[46] or as sandhivigrahika.[47]

In the light of varied translations and other related ~~records~~ matters like association with other offices and promotions etc, it might be proposed that dandanayakas were feudatory chiefs who owed allegiance to the ruler and were equally enjoined to render civil and military assistance when required. They could render service in administration as administrator judge, for maintaining law and order, or in external relations as 'minister in charge of peace and war'. The Kushanas were the first to introduce this system, and it was endorsed by Gupta rulers and later on by others in different parts of India. The mahadandanayaka of the Kushana record of the time of Huvishka was the son of a Bakanpati, taken as the lord of Wakhan or Badakshan, while Lala of the Manikiala record was a scion of the Kushana family. The feudal set-up in the administrative machinery, innovated by the Kushanas, was probably worked out on a limited scale. As in the

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case of the Kshatrapas and the Mahakshatrapas, the names of the feudal lords or dandanayakas and the mahadandanayaka were all foreign. These feudal lords acquired their position either by inheritence or on other grounds like rendering distinguished service. The Indianisation of administrative service appears to be confined only to local units at the village level.

Gramika and Padrapala:

The administration at the lower level seems to have been left in its older form. The two terms gramika and padrapala appear to be synonymous.[48] A record from Mathura records dedication by the wife of the village headman Jayanaga, the gramika whose father Jayadeva also enjoyed the same status Padrapala.[49] The other term referring to the local head is noticed in another record. The two terms are not concurrently mentioned in any record. The term gramika is also mentioned in the Damodarpur Copper Plate inscription[50] and is taken in the sense of the head of a village. According to Mauu,[51] the headman enjoyed several privileges, as for example he could use the king's revenue and could refer cases of criminal offences to the head of ten villages. This term is synonymous with the gramani[52] of the village literature, and gramakuttaka in a later record where the latter is distinguished with gramapati probably the landlord of the village. There is hardly any information regarding his functions and remunerations etc. in the Kushana record.

The meagre information available from the Kushana records is suggestive of some form of feudal hierarchy in Kushana administration. These, however, do not provide details or atleast the names of offices although some information is available from the contemporary Buddhist literature.[53] It would however be difficult

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to associate the available information with reference to the Kushana administrative set-up. The Kushanas, as foreigners, did not liberalise their administration with the participation of Indians at the Central or feudal provincial levels. The local administration at the village level did not call for any change. The security of the people was no doubt ensured as we find references to people coming to Mathura from Abhisara, Nagara Odayana and Wakhan or Badakshan. Safe communication guaranteed progress and prosperity. This is evident from a number of donations and dedications made by the people from all religions.

The Central Asian Counter-part :

The records from explorations and excavations at the sites of Endree and Loulan furnish interesting information about the old Shan-Shan kingdom. Separated from India at considerable distance, and still not in close proximity with China at the other hand, the kingdom did assimilate features of Indian administration. The records provide names of some rulers with the Indian titles of Maharajadhiraja and Devaputra[54] which were probably borrowed from the records of the Kushana rulers. The title meaning 'the son of God' was equally accorded to Chinese rulers in different forms. The division of the kingdom into small provinces with the head of these known as rajadhiraja, and further into districts (kilma) was quite normal. Interesting information is available about taxation and revenue matters in these records. So also bureaucracy with the chain of officials from Cozbo downwards appointed in most cases on a hereditary basis and the Indian element in it as evidence from the names of officials suggest Indian influence. In this context, it is necessary at the outset to fix the dates of the records and their association with the

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later Kushan. It was proposed by Rapson[55] that these records cover a period of atleast 86 (or 96) years, being 8 years of king Pepiya, 3 of Tejaka, 36 (or 46) of Amgoka, 28 of Maire and 11 of Vasmand. These 90 years or a century should be fixed between the end of the former Hani dynasty in China and the date of conquest of Shan-Shan by Tu-Yu (K)-hun (in A.D. 445). According to F.W.Thomas,[56] we can hardly assign to the beginning of the period represented by the Kharoshthi documents a date earlier than the third century A.D. Some of the documents were found there with the Chinese record bearing an exact date corresponding to A.D. 269. The use of regnal years in the records of the rulers, and the titles taken by some like Tajaka correspond to the pattern of the Kushana ruler Kanishka could be suggestive of some kind of affiliation. It might therefore be presumed that they formed some remnants of the Kushanas with their territory as a break away from the Kushana empire, or an existing independent unit.

The position of the ruler in administration, particularly in his relations with the provincial and local units do call for analysis. There are notices of atleast six rulers in the available inscriptions. In one (No. 661) reference is made to the reign of the king of Khotan, the king of kings, Hindadeva Vijitasimha. The title avijita or unconquered is an addition and could be compared to the legends on the Gupta coins. The name of the ruler of this record Vijitasimha is fully Indian. The ruler personally appointed the provincial head called 'Cozbo'. He was enjoined to look after the affairs of the State day and night with zeal. He was enjoined to keep guard over the kingdom with care and even at the cost of his life. He was equally expected to provide information about the neighbouring States of Khema and Khotan. The problems of

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marauderers posing as refugees and known as Supis, identified with Hiuing-nu had to be carefully handled without any room for reclamation. Care was taken about different types of taxes' collection. These were to be deposited in time in State granary and chest. The other duties of Cozbo was to convey information to the capital through carriers who had to do that with speed. The hiring of cattles for this specific purpose was also the responsibility of this head of the province. Public welfare demanded State control and exploitation of the poor and the indebted people by the affluent class had to be prevented and contained. The services of well-born people were utilised by the rulers appointed and persons disobeying Sanjakas' - the nominee's order was sent to the king's court for punishment.

The provinces administered by the Shan-Shan officials in Cadota and Calmadana were known as rajya or kingdom, probably suggesting their existence as separate units. In one record (10714) reference is made to a conference representing the entire State in which the assemblage included people and officials from outside States and the royal State called rajade. The purpose of this assembly was an enquiry into taxation law (palpi-dharma), and it was held in the rainy season - varsha period - at Krorayina, the capital - included in Lou-lan - which was excavated by Aurel Stein. Incidentally this place is mentioned in a record of Vasudeva addressed to his dear father - the great gusura Bhati. Reference is also made in this record to the gusura Pumnasa and his elder brother Bhatisana. This place is identified with the modern site of Miran [57] - the little Shan-Shan and also the little Nob of the Tibetan period. It is interesting to find purely Indian names like Vasuddva in analogy to the last imperial Kushan namesake, and

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Bhati. There are also mixed names in records.

The list of officials mentioned in the records is fairly comprehensive and provides an idea of the working of the administrative system. As Cozbo was the highest official corresponding to the Tibetan rtse-rje - the local head in later times - he was assisted by many others, the notable one being the collector of taxes (Sothamga). The officials seem to be paid in kind in the form of exemption from taxes or a share in the collection, or in kind. One inscription refers to corn being given for maintenance (amnanissaga) which was given to the people coming to the metropolis on official work (No. 478). There are many references to hereditary appointments (nos. 288, 370, 390 etc.). The system ensured allegiance on the part of the employee, and did not involve fresh commitments from the side of administration. While the two offices - Sadavidas and Karasenavas (no. 86) cannot be identified, tomga figuring in several records (123 etc.) is considered by Thomas[58] to be a district officer corresponding to the Tibetan stom-kyam or stom-gyam.

Reference is also made to the administration of justice - both civil and criminal in several records (nos. 6, 18, 64, 204, 205 etc.). Examination of witnesses on oath was a normal feature and the award of deterrent punishment in the form of lashes was equally given. There are also references to imposition of fines (no. 204) and other forms of punishments as well. The contractual obligation had to be complied with. The master was equally liable for acts of negligence or default of his servants to the injured party. There are also references to espionage (479). The despatch of mission to neighbouring kingdom for keeping friendly relations was also quite normal. There are also references to foreign

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services as well (nos. 14, 232, 251). Defence was not neglected (no. 123). There was also laws against cutting of trees and one so doing was liable to find (no. 482).

The administration of the Shan-Shan state which might have been a remnant of the Kushan power in Central Asia, as revealed from the Kharoshthi documents, seem to have been framed on the Indian model with such amendations and adjustments as were deemed necessary. There are references to three political states in inscriptions - Kuchi, Chimasthan and Khotan. The first two are merely noticed but the third one had political confrontations with this State. Adequate measures - political and military - were needed for the political existence and independence of this state. The net of taxation was wide enough to bring adequate revenue in cash and kind to meet responsibilities of the administration.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The position of the Saka-Kshatrapas of Western India and their relations with Vima Kadphises have been discussed earlier. They were probably feudatories of the Kushana emperor. The assumption of the higher title Mahakshatrapa by Nahapana in the year 46, and the reference to Rudradaman obtaining the title ~~of~~ by his own power (svayam adhigata mahakshatrapa namna) poses the question - acquired from whom ? The reference to Bhattaraka in the record of Nahapana is equally helpful in this context. The status of these Kshatrapas was certainly higher than that of a provincial chief. They were more or less independent rulers issuing their own coinage. However, the title maharaja is missing in their records or coins.

2. The Taxila record of 136 (CII. pp. 70 ff) is the earliest one referring to the Kushana monarch with the high sounding titles of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra. In view of the record being dated in three digits it is ascribed to the time of Vima Kadphises. Records mentioning Kanishka with these appellations are Sui Vihar (CII. pp. 138 ff) ; the Mathura Jain inscription of the year 7 (E.I.I. p. 381 No. 19) adding the title Shahi as well ; those of Huvishka are the Chharagon Naga image inscription of the year 40 (Vogel. Cat.Mat.Mus. No. C13); the Mathura Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the year 47 (IA.III. p. 101); the Mathura Image inscription of the year 60 (or 40) - EI. I. p. p. 386 No.8 ; the Mat inscription (JRAS. 1924 pp. 397 No.3) ; the title Shahi is also mentioned in the Mathura Brahmi inscription of the year 28, mentioning only Devaputra Shahi Huvishka (EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.). Those of Vasudeva are the Mathura Stone Slab of the year 74 (EI.I. p. 373 No. 7); the Jain record of the 84 also adding the title Shahi (Vogel. Cat. Mat.Mus. No. B4), that of the year 87 with the title Shahi but not Devaputra (IA. XXXIII. p. 108 No.22). Vasiska is also given the full regal form - Maharajatiraja Devaputra in the Mathura Yupa inscription (Vogel. Cat.Mat.Mus. No. Q13), and the title Shahi is also added in the Sanchi record (EI. II. p. 39). The fuller title is also accorded to the Kushanputra mentioned in the Mathura record (ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12. p. 124), while Kanishka of the Mathura record of the year 14 bears the titles Maharaja Devaputra. Kanishka of the Ara inscription (EI. IX. p. 96) has the additional title Kaisara (CII. p. 162 ff).

3. Whitehead. Cat. p. 183.

4. ibid. p. 184, 187, 194.

5. According to F.W.Thomas, Devaputra was not an official title of the Kushana rulers but a complimentary epithet given to them by their subjects (B.C. Law Volume. II. pp. 97 ff), a view accepted by Ghoshal (Sharma. Aspects of Political Ways and Institutions in Ancient India p. 175. R.S.Sharma takes it to be an official title adopted by the Kushanas (ibid p.177).

6. R.S.Sharma thinks that it was obviously used to challenge Roman power (Op.cit p. 168). According to Sten Konow, Kaisara cannot be anything else than the imperial Roman title Caesar, and it presupposes that ~~that~~ the inscription was executed at

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a time when the Roman empire was known in India as a powerful state. (JBBRAS. Vol. I New Series p. 2).

7. Monier Williams Dictionary p. 325.

8. V. 66. 26.

9. Aitareya VII. 5 ; Satapatha XVII. 52.

10. In addition to the evidence of inscriptions, the fact that a portion of Northern India was incorporated into the Achaemenian empire under Darius is further attested by the witness of Herodotus, who, in giving a list of the twenty satraps or governments that Darius established, expressly states that the Indian realm was the twentieth division. (Historica III. 94 - CHI. p. 300).

11. Alexander had divided the Punjab and Sind into three divisions. The first was the satrapy of Philip, the son of Machatas, but it is difficult to make out its confines, possibly round Taxila. The second was the satrapy of Pithon, covering Sind from the Indus confluence to the ocean. The third of the Paurava prince extended from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the Hyphasis (Beas). A fourth Satrapy lay outside India. A fifth with a looser connection was that of Abhisara (CHI. p. 383).

12. CII. II. pp. 150, 130.

13. Sodasa & Rajubula. ibid. p. cii. For reference to the names and coins of Mathura Kshatrapas see - Cunningham. Coins of Ancient India - CAI. pp. 85-7 ; Allan. Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum - CCBM. pp. cxi-vi.

14. EI. VIII. p. 196 ff. Nos. IIIa, IIIb, IIId.

15. ibid. p. 180.

16. R.S.Sharma presumes that the Kushanas probably introduced dual governorship in a province so that one could act as a check on the power of the other.

17. Vogel. Cat.Mat.Mus. No.A. 66.

18. CII. p. 28 - Chukhsasa Kshatrapasa is also used in another Taxila inscription of the year 191, and there it can hardly be anything else than the name of the locality over which the Kshatrapa held sway. Buhler identified Chukhsa with Sanskrit Choska, which according to Trikandasesha means 'a horse from the districts on the Indus'. It might denote some particular district on the Indus. Stein identifed it with the present Chach or Chachh, an alluvial plain to the north of the district and Tahsil of Attock (CII. p. 25).

19. CII. p. 82.

20. ibid. p. 149.

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21. ibid. p. 150.

22. ibid. p. 145.

23. Ghirshman suggests that Begram-Kapisa was the capital of the Kushana State (Op.cit. p. 689). One may not agree with him on this point. Mathura certainly had a better claim because of its central situation. Begram might have been a provincial seat.

24. According to Vincent Smith, Jushka mentioned in the Rajatarangini (BK. I. vv. 168-71) may have been merely a Viceroy in Kashmir. Coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are abundant in that country (EHI. p. 276).

25. Proc. IIIC. 1958. p. 68.

26. JRAS. 1924. p. 402.

27. ASR. III. p. 32 No. 8.

28. CII. p. 145.

29. Proc. IHC. Aligarh. p. 90 cf. Ghoshal - Indian Historiography and other Essays, pp. 177-9. He concludes that the term Mahadandanayaka means 'Commander-in-chief'.

30. EI. XII. p. 371.

31. ibid. p. 13.

32. ibid. p. 268.

33. EI. VI. p. 92.

34. Monier Williams : Dictionary p. 966.

35. Essays I - p. 23.

36. CI. III. p. 76.

37. Rajatarangini - Translation I, viii, 975 p. 344.

38. Rivers of Kings p. 288.

39. EI. XV. p. 283.

40. ibid.

41. EI. XV. p. 87 ; XIX. p. 88.

42. IA. IV. p. 108.

43. EI. XX. p. 18.

44. IA. IV. p. 105 ff ; EI. IV. p. 260.

45. EI. XV. p. 93.

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46. EI. XIII. p. 36.

47. ibid.

48. EI. p. 387. No. 11

49. JUPHS. 1939. p. 22 No. XXII.

50. EI. XV. p. 114 n.3.

51. VII. 118.

52. Gramani or 'Leader of the village' is referred to in the Rigveda (X. 62, 11, 107.5); in the Atharvaveda III. 5, 7 ; XIX. 31, 12 and often in the later Samhitas and in the Brahmanas, Taittiriya Samhita (ii. 5, 4, 4) ; Maitrayani Samhita (i. 6, 5). According to Macdonell and Keith, presumably the Gramani was the head of the village both for civil purposes and for military operations (Vedic Index Vol. I. p. 247). The local heads were known as Gramani. (Luders List No. 1333), Gramika (ibid. 48. 699), Gramabhojaka (ibid 1200). There is also a reference to Gramasvami (lord of the village) of a Kshatrapa in a late Kharoshthi inscription in the Peshawar area (EI. XXIV. p. 10).

53. The administrative data from the Sanskrit Buddhist literature I-III century A.D. is considered in a Paper read by the author and published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress - Bombay Session, pp. 146-151 (1947).

54. Burrow. A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan. London. 1940. Nos. 422, 500, 572.

55. Boyer, Rapson and Senart : Kharoshthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. I-III- Oxford. 1921-29 - Introduction.

56. 'Some Notes on Central Asian Kharoshthi Documents'. BSOAS. 1943. pp. 513-540.

57. Thomas. Acta Orientalia (A.O.XIII. p. 46).

58. ibid. p. 52.

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL LIFE

The social life in northern India during the Kushans period was animated and lively. With a wide range of entertainments in an atmosphere of pleasure and plenty, the people were happy and contented. Evidence relating to singing, dancing, music and other items of entertainment like dramatic performances and magical shows is provided by literature and art of the period. Further, inscriptions recording donations or dedications by pious people for their respective religious orders, enjoin the sharing of merit by all the members of the family. Thus, the family formed the important social unit with the head exercising control over other members. Division into broader groups was based on fundamental differences in disposition and aptitude, without alienating relations between different members of the social set-up. The area of social contacts was not limited, nor was the hereditary functions of any group, or in a broader sense of castes in general tended towards rigidity. The broader view of life aimed at a harmonious blending of values, and balancing of dharma, artha and kama - spirituality, economic pursuit and marital happiness - all leading to moksha - the final liberation from this mundane existence. The religious texts of the period have much to offer on the secular aspects of life with stress on toleration and understanding. The Kushana art is equally rich in portraying facets of human life in its lighter view, characterised with humour, joy and sensuality. The influx of foreigners - Greeks, Parthians, Sakas and lastly the Kushanas - had not alienated the values of Indian social setting or disturbed its structural pattern. Indian society retained its vitality and elasticity

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in providing room for these foreigners and accepting them as a part of it. The different aspects of social life no doubt provide an interesting study.

Social Divisions :

The Sanskrit Buddhist literature and the data from the Milindapanha throw some light on the social divisions of the period following the Christian era. The division of society was based on birth and not on wealth or profession, thus suggesting professional mobility. An inscription from Mathura[1] records dedication by the daughter-in-law of an iron monger (lohavaniya), herself the daughter of a jeweller (manikara). This phenomenon does not provide evidence of inter-caste marriage, but is suggestive of persons taking up different avocations as members of the same caste (vanika). The Divyavadana[2] - a slightly later Sanskrit Buddhist text, notices the case of a Brahmin boy deficient in learning and his father consolding himself that after all not all brahmins were accomplished in the Vedas (na sarve brahmana Vedaparaga bhavanti), and he still continued to be a brahmin by birth (jatibrahmana). Another Buddhist text, the Mahavastu[3] refers to wealthy brahmins with their treasures and granaries full. There was no doubt the four-fold division of Hindu society into Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras according to the Milindapanha[4], which equally records their usual functions and responsibilities. In the Lalitavistara[5], another contemporary Sanskrit-Buddhist text, there is a reference to caste unification (sarvair-ekajati pratibaddhai), probably in an academic sense rather than an attempt to integrate the different social units. The Brahmanical society was a living force, and the members of

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this class continued to enjoy special position. In a Mathura Brahmi inscription[6] of the time of Huvishka, the donor - a foreigner Bakanapati and Kharasalerapati made special provision for the feeding of a hundred Brahmins in the open hall, out of the interest from the perpetual endowment made by him with two local guilds. This was in conformity with the then existing practice of making gifts to gods and brahmins,[7] which was symbolical of their acceptance of Brahmanical hierarchy . The inscriptions are silent on the dedication or donation given by a Sudra as such, but there are references to an out-caste (vaivarnika)[8] and to a man of low caste (matanga)[9] and slaves in different circumstances. The reference to Agisala navakarmika in the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Casket inscription[10] as a dasa is more out of humility and devotion, rather than symbolical of his status. Moreover he was a Buddhist.

Family Life :

Family constituted the smaller unit of society with the individual playing a minor role as one of the many constituting the group. The records therefore enjoin that the merit from any endowment was to be shared by all the family members and not the individual donor. (Sarvasatvanam hitasukhaya). Some kind of family protocal was equally observed by members in matters of precedence according to their status in the family, as for instance, in the donatory record of a lady her father-in-law's name preceded that of her father, followed by the names of her husband and finally her sons.[11] In case the head of the family was dead then the father's name had precedence over that of her husband.[12] The grand-children also figured in records of aged elderly donors. Thus, in a record of Vijayasri,[13] daughter of

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Bubu, and wife of Rajavasu, mother of Devila and paternal grand-mother of Vishnubhava, three generations are mentioned for sharing the merit. Occasionally the chief merit was assigned to a certain member of the family,[14] as for example, mother,[15] brother, father, wife and son.[16] The joint family included father, mother, grand father (pitamaha), son, daughter-in-law (vadhu).[17] Asvaghosha as well mentions the young half-brother (bhratarya)[18] as a member of the joint family.[19] An inscription also refers to sister's daughter's daughter (Sushoti). The father-in-law was not included in the joint family. In a donatory record[20] of a lady, the members of her mother and father's family (mata-pita) precede those of her father-in-law (svasura) and mother-in-law (svasa). It is likely that this lady retained her paternal family lineage, like Prabhavati Gupta, daughter of Chandragupta II, who was married to a Vakataka prince.

The literature of the period as well provides some interesting piece of information in this context. A high and prosperous family (jati-sampanna)[21] is distinguished from a low one (hinakula),[22] while a mahaparivara[23] suggested a large family. The head of the family was called grihapati,[24] while the mistress was known by several names.[25] The inscriptions record a few synonymous terms in this context, namely, bharya, kutumbini, dharmapatni and sahachari. The last term could as well signify a consort or a female companion. The head of the family exercised authority over other members and his permission was necessary on all formal occasions.[26] Reference is also made to transference of wealth and revenue (upabhoga) by the father in favour of his sons through a will in the presence of a big gathering of relations and others. Defiance of paternal authority brought misery

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to a young boy running away from house.

The comforts of the master and members of the joint family were looked after by attendants of different kinds, such as a domestic servants (paurusheya)[27], purojava - a personal valet, vahika[28] - a carrier servant, probably engaged in bringing water or for market purchases, and a boy servant - javana purusha[29]. The maid-servant in waiting (antara-grihadasi)[30] attended to the needs of the mistress and other ladies in the family. They prepared cosmetics (vilepana), made arrangements for bath and toilet (snana-vidhim = ayojayet) and as well weaved sweet smelling garlands (jagranthu-anyah surabhastra's cha)[31]. The Divyavadana[32] refers to many types of nurses (dhatri) for looking after babies and small children, like wet-nurse. This domestic paraphernalia was possible only in high and affluent families who could afford to maintain a high standard of living. The donatory and dedicatory records of the middle class people suggest their pious nature and a fairly sound financial status. The ladies as well enjoyed freedom to take initiative in this matter. The veil noticed in the Bharhut sculptures,[33] but missing in Kushana sculptures, is suggestive of the change in the status of ladies. They were of course conscious of maintaining decorum and decency in their conduct and behaviour. Asvaghosha refers to brides narrowing down their eyes (hina kunchita chakshushani)[34], and the Lalita-vistara[35] as well prescribes the same rule of conduct for brides. The ladies were provided separate apartment (antahpura)[36] in the house.

Marriage :

Marriage within the same caste was the general rule and not an exception. There are of course reference to different

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types of married ladies in the family. Dharmapatni suggested the legally wedded wife, Kutumbini, the house wife and bharya an ordinary wife.[38] In the absence of monogamy, there was no restriction on the number of wives which an individual was permitted to possess. All the same polygamy was not ordinarily encouraged. The literature of the time furnishes information about virtues in a prospective bride (yasya ete gunah samvidyanti)[39] as also proficiency in arts in the groom.[40] There used to be tests for ascertaining proficiency in the use of weapons like sword (asi), bows (dhanus) and even in wrestling. (yuddha-salambha vidhijnah). These tests are recorded in the context of Siddhartha's marriage and the wrestling scene so prominently portrayed in Gandhara art. The Mahavastu[41] refers to a blacksmith's son producing a very fine needle as a test of his claim for the hand of his prospective bride from the same caste. Marriage by purchase was equally known. The Milindapanha[42] provides reference to Sunka corresponding to Sulka of the Jatakas[43] as the bride's price. It is as well mentioned by Asvaghosha in his Buddhacharita.[44]

Dress and Ornaments :

The evidence on this aspect of social life is provided by the sculptures as also the literature. It no doubt depended on the taste, status and prosperity of the individual as also his environment. It varied according to regions. In the Gandhara area the dress of the ordinary people consisted of a loin cloth[45] (dhoti) tied with a girdle at the waist, reach down to the anklets with a scarf covering the upper part and a turban (mauli) donning the head. Women in general put on a skirt (lahinga) and bodice (stanamsuka) and sometime a sari. Some had the scarf drapped over

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both shoulders with a loose inflated length behind the head and shoulders and the ends hanging down evenly on both the sides. A short chitan or tunic caught in the round and provided with scalloped turn over edge at the top is as well noticed.[46] The secular scenes in Gandhara art as well provide an interesting study of contemporary social life.[47] In a family drinking scene (now in the Musee Guimet, Paris), the two men are differently dressed. The older one wears himation only which falls from the left shoulder and leaves the body bare, while the younger one has a shirt, sleeved tunic tied with a girdle round the hips. The dress of the woman in the scene consists of a long-sleeved chitan reaching from the neck to the feet, and over it a himation draped from the left shoulder across the legs. In another scene women wear a long double tunic instead of a tunic and himation.[48]

The sculptures of the period from Mathura depict different types of dresses.[49] In one sculpture from Sarnath, the devotees are clad in long tunics with a belt above the hips. In a Bacchanalian group from Mathura,[50] a woman is clad in a long sleeved jacket and a skirt touching her feet. She put on pump shoes with heavy ornaments adorning her body. On the other side of the group a lady is dressed in Greek costume with a man on her left wearing a mantle fastened to the neck and hanging down from the shoulders in folds which are suggestive of late Greek designs, according to Vogel. In another piece, bearing an inscription[51] of the time of Huvishka, the female figure has a short petticoat with a loose garment hanging down her left arm. The most interesting sculpture of the time from the British Museum[52] shows a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The lady on the left wears a loin cloth and a girdle with the usual ornaments round the neck , wrists, anklets

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and ears. The male facing the lady wears a necklace, bracelets, eardrops, and the dhoti covering the knees. It was probably the ordinary dress of the people with a scarf tied round the loins and a shawl over the body or even without it, and the usual head dress. Some foreigners are equally conspicuous by their dress in sculptures. In a sculpture[53] from Sanchi, the donors - men, women and children - all wear the peculiar barbarian dress, apparently consisting of boots, breaches, and belted cassocks for men and the characteristic jackets of the women.

The headless statue of Kanishka in the Mathura Museum[54] is equally suggestive of the usual foreign dress put on by the Kushana rulers. The emperor is shown dressed in a Taga (like the angarkha) of the Muslim times), reaching down the knees and held round the loins by a girdle. The long heavy boots with straps round the ankles are prominently displayed. The figure of the Kushana emperor on the coins[55] has a long heavy coat and close-fitting trousers with a peaked helmet. There is no difference in the dress. Another statue[56] of the Kushana-putra, a later emperor is dressed in a long sleeved tunic with rich embroidered border. The tunic is dotted all over with little rosettees. He also puts on heavy boots.

Interesting information relating to the dress of the people is equally provided by the contemporary literature. Asvaghosha refers to people adorning themselves with clothing and ornaments (vasanais-cha-abharanair).[57] The shawl as usual covered both the shoulders (patavritamso vinatardhakaya).[58] The head dress was called mauli. The poet as well refers to dress suited for merry-making (veshan madananurupam)[59] distinguished from that of mournful colour (vivakta vasan).[60] The Divyavadana[61] notices two pieces of dress (Yamali) and another garment called tundichela. So also the

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Saddharma-pundarika[62] refers to petticoat (sati) and other items for covering (preivara) along with soft, clean and gorgeous costumes. The good quality of cloth stuff, like the fine cotton silk from Kasi (Kasika vastra)[63] was probably meant for use by the aristocratic class - the rich and affluent people. The Lalita-vistara[64] as well refers to the use of ordinary cotton (tulapansi)[65] for making summer clothes. The Milindapanha[66] refers to the use of blankets (kambala). One as well notices the sprinkling of perfume on clothes (avasayam)[67]. There are also references to dyers (rajaka) in inscriptions[68] and literature.[69]

Ornaments were ordinarily put on by both men and women, as evinced from the sculptures from Gandhara as well as from Mathura. The types and numbers seem to have varied. In Gandhara sculptures men are shown putting on a necklace and a bangle on each wrist, while women have several bangles on their wrists as well as heavy anklets, besides the usual necklace.[70] The large circular ear-ornaments and flat collarette are also noticed along with flexible necklace and bangle.[71] In Mathura sculpture, the usual ornaments for men are necklace, bracelets and ear drops while women have ornaments round the neck, wrists, anklets and ear drops.[72] The Lalitavistara[73] and Saundarananda[74] of Asvaghosha notice anklets (nupura), ear-rings (kundala) and pearl necklace (hara). The Sukhavativyuha,[75] however, provides a more detailed list of ornaments covering the entire body which is not warranted by the sculptures of this period. The absence of latikas or forehead pieces and patra-pasya - the fastened leaf of the Bharhut sculpture[76] suggest a tendency towards simplicity, and refinement in taste, rather than for over ornamentation. Reference might as well be made to the dress of a warrior and that of saints as

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depicted in art and mentioned in literature. A sculpture from Sahri-Bahlol[77] shows a warrior dressed in a double skirted coat of mail falling down to the knees with high boots, as against the long-sleeved tunic reaching nearly the hina tinge and tied at two places by cords and the usual dhoti in Bharhut sculptures. The dress of monks consisted of three items - the upper garment (uttara-sanga), the lower one (antaravasaka) and the outer cloak (sanghati).

It would appear from this short study based on art and literature of the time that dress varied with people from different regions, and according to their status - ranging from soft coloured rugs (mridvastra) thin texture of blue colour (slakshana sulidha) to fine cotton-silk from Kasi (Kasikavastra) and the plain cotton clothes (tundapasi). Ornaments in use were few in number as compared to those in use in the preceding Sunga period. There was, thus, a tendency towards refinement, grace and simplicity in presentation. This would also be evident from the use of cosmetics, perfumes and arrangement of hair in different ways and forms.

Toilet and Treatment of Hair :

A number of door jambs now in the State Museum at Lucknow and at the Mathura Museum contain toilet scenes on the cut panels. These range from bath to the completion of the toilet. The first scene is that of a lady along with her husband holding the garment for her which he eventually hands over to her. In the next scene he plaints her hair in braids, and in the third one she is giving the mirror to him to hold it for her while she applies the cosmetics on her face. It appears that the sculptor had probably derived his inspiration from the Saundarananda Kavya of Asvaghosha. The lady sundari puts her mirror into the hands of her spouse Nanda

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and asks him to hold that up in front of her while she paints her face[78] and the younger lover did accordingly.[79] The Mathura Museum door jamb panels also display similar scenes. The same work of Asvaghosha as well refer to the pointing of ointment and making preparations for toilet and bath by the lady in attendance on her mistress. These maids were required to pound ointment, perfume clothes and weave sweet-smelling garland for their mistress and her lord.[80] After the usual bath, some ladies put on special dress of thin texture and blue colour (slakshana sulida).[81] The items of cosmetics included salva (vilepana), paint (viseshaka)[82] and ointment (anjana). The paste was applied on the face through a small paper stick (patrangati).[83] Chandana paste was rubbed over the body sometimes by the lady herself.[84]

The treatment of hair included, according to Milindapanha,[85] shampooing (dhovana), followed by tying of ribbons (bandhana), combing (Koccha) and the final hair dressing (kappaka). This was done before a clean mirror (adarsamandala).[86] There are traces of different types of hair dressing and arrangement in the sculptures and terracottas of the period. While the arrangement is not so diversified as in the Gupta period, but many types had their beginnings in this period. The parting line (simanta) is not clearly drawn out, but sometimes it assumes the form of a short one on the forehead,[87] a circle drawn on the forepart of the hair - sometimes parted from the middle with horizontal lines running on either side.[88] The rest of the hair is plaited in braids (dviveni)[89] and thrown at the back,[90] or bound in a straight knot at the back.[91] In another type the hair is arranged in a horizontal ridge on the crown of the head from which tassels fall at the back.[92] A number of terracottas found at Ghosi and Kosam and at many other places bear this out,

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though in the crude workmanship of the Kushana period. In the third type,[93] hair is arranged on the head in a form giving an impression of the feather of a peacock. This style is very pictresque and rather peculiar to the Kushana period.

The hair arrangement is equally varied in Gandhara art. It is in unconified locks,[94] long and braided,[95] with tinft at the back[96] dressed as a top knot.[97] The wig like treatment is also noticed in Gandhara sculpture.[98] In the absence of any defined dating for Gandhara sculptures, it is difficult to assign any particular design or type to the Kushana period. These sculptures as well display full-grown moustache and beards.[99] A solitary reference to the dressing (prasadhayati) of the hair and the beard (kesamasru)[100] is noticed in the Divyavadana.

Pastime and Recreations :

The need for pastime and recreations is a must in every stage of life and it equally forms an important aspect of social life. Of course these vary according to the age and taste of the people and the living environment.[101] In the Saddharmapundarika, one finds reference to neat and lovely gardens as places of recreations and are called Kridasthana.[102] The Divyavadana mentions such lovely spots being used for walking (chamkrama). Items of recreations differed according to the taste of the person. Small children were happy even in playing on sand (sikta)[103] with their toys (kridannam), while young ones enjoyed games and exercises, such as leaping (langhana),[104] jumping (plavana), wrestling in rings (ranga-mandala)[105] and engaging themselves in gymnasiums (vyayamasala).[106] The adults had their recreations on musical instruments,[107] dancing and acting,[108] excursions,[109] hunting,[110] and in a game of dice.[111] Magic display[112] and festivals[113] were items of universal enjoyment

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Music, dancing and acting was equally accepted as an avocation and such families had professions called Sailalakas.[114] The Mahavastu[115] refers to troop of dancers coming from Takshasila to Varanasi, while the Avadanasataka[116] notices a company of five hundred musicians with their headman (gandharva ka raja) camping at Sravasti. A company of two hundred dramatic personage is mentioned in the Mahavastu[117] and the Lalitavistara actually refers to a theatrical stage (natarangasabha).[118] An expert in dancing was called natacharya.[119] The troop of entertainers included singers who kept rythm with clapping (talika-gandharvika), ordinary vocal singer (gayanaka or gunavarta), frantic dancer (tandavika), courtesan (ganika)and joker (hasyakaraka).[120] In the same work there is reference to clown (batuka) in the rank of entertainers. The instrumentalists were named after their favourites. A list of such instruments is given in several literary works of this period.[12] These included drum (bheri), conch (sankha), trumpets (patah), noisy drums (sughoshah), cymbals (dundubhi), sweet-lute (vina) tabor (mridanga), another kind of drum (kinkina) and some minor instruments like a kind of cymbal or small drum (panava), tunava, vallaki and mukunda.

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The Gandhara sculptures as well provide adequate information on this aspect of social life. The musical instruments depicted in sculptures[122] include cymbals, drums, harp, lute, lyre,[123] mandoline, pan-pipes and tambourine. In the famous drinking scene of five figures now in the Musee Guimet, Paris, the older man holds a wine bowl in his hands and the woman by his side carries an amphora in her left arm. The young man plays on a tambourine and keeps tine with his left foot, while his wife plays on a two-stringed mandoline. It appears that drinking, dancing and music

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were uniformly enjoyed by all the members of the family. In another scene, depicted on a sculpture from Kaferkot, now in the British Museum,[124] Nagaraja is shown with his musicians and attendants. It is assigned by Mars-hall to the early part of the adolescent period, about the middle or third quarter of the 1st century A.D. In this scene are noticed lute, harp, lyre, panpipe, tambourine, and a small drum hanging down the left shoulder of the player who raises his right hand to strike the drum in rythm with the music played on other instruments.

Musical instruments as also music and dancing scenes are displayed in the sculptures from Mathura. These instruments are tabor, conch, drum (mridanga)[125] and also a big pipe. The dancing scene is carried out on a round pillar[126] at a right half side. She is shown with her bent right foot and the left hand raised in the same dancing posture. To her left is a male figure playing on a tabor, and some other instrument - a cylindrical form of drum - The party of musicians including the lady playing on a vina,[127] the Prasadiki playing with ball[128] or plucking flowers[129] are suggestive of other items of entertainment and amusement. A terra-cota figure from Mathura[130] is that of a young man playing on a harp, while a scene from a railing pillar depicts two men in the act of killing a tortoise with sticks.[131]

Besides these entertainment features, magic and magicians were as well enjoyed along with festivals without any barrier. The magician was known as Sobhake[132] who exhibited different ~~type~~ kinds of magical tricks. Three types of such magicians are mentioned in the Divyavadana,[133] namely manojava, stambhana and sikhu. The same work also notices the Kaumudi mahotsava.[134] Reference is made to its celebration in Varanasi, in the Mahavastu.[135] The

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Milindapanha[136] notices another festival called ashtaka without specifying the time and place of its celebration. Dice-playing was another item of pastime but it was probably enjoyed by old people of aristocratic families since it involved stakes. The Milindapanha[137] refers to a judge in this game (akkhadassa - Skt. - akshadarsaka). These varied kinds of entertainments provided relaxation and pleasure to people.

Food :

Food constituting the basis of existence is as well suggestive of the taste and refinement of its consumers. A solitary inscription[138] from Mathura notices articles of food which were to be provided daily at the alms house (punyasala) under a perpetual endowment. These included barley meal (saktu), salt (lavarna) and flour (saku-saktu) and some green vegetables. The contemporary literature, however, provides copious information on this aspect. The Saddharma-Pundarika[139] mentions two types of food - hard and soft (khadya-bhojya). References to cereals, pulses, fats and sweets as also to non-vegetarian items suggest varied and lavish menu.[140] The cereals included flour (saktu), rice (udana),[141] inferior type of rice (sakatyuda)[142] - dhanya, fried or parched grain (laja),[143] barley (yava-sakta),[144] mustard sed (sarslapa)[145] another kind of pulse (kalaya)[146] and roots (mula).[147] Flour cakes were called pishta and mandalika.[148] Fats including milk and curd consisted of ghee (ghrita),[149] curd,[150] milk (kshira)[151] clarified butter (sarpuh),[152] oil (taila),[153] sour gruel (kulamashan)[154] and kanji kacchitam.[155] Various types of curries (aneka supam)[154] and peas-soup (yûsham),[156] sweets (lehya)[157] were prepared from rough sugar (guda) or candy (sarkara).[158] Molasses (phanitan) and honey

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(madhu)[159] were also in use. The non-vegetarian items consisted of meat (mansa)[160] and fish (matsya). Onions (palandu)[161] were tabooed for the Kshatriyas. Dressing was done through cumming seeds (jirah)[162] and pepper (maricham).

There are also references to meal timings, refectories and utensils in use for items of food preparation. The morning breakfast is called purvabhakshikta,[163] but there is no reference to its items. Preparations for meals (bhaktakriya),[164] cooking utensils (parishkara),[165] and cook (supakara or suda)[166] are also mentioned in literature.[167] The Milindapanha refers to an apprentice cook (sudantevasi) and his practical training. Drinking was equally enjoyed by both the sexes, as is evident from references in literature and as well as noticed in sculptures. Besides the popular soma,[168] a strong drink (majjadanam),[169] and a kind of beverage mixed with sugar (sarakaram-panarasam)[170] are also referred to. Mutual intoxication was equally enjoyed by couples.[171] In the family drinking scenes noticed in Gandhara art, one notices women holding wine-bowls.[172]

The vessels of daily use were bowl-shaped ones (kunda),[173] plates (sthalika),[174] ordinary vessels (bhajanam),[175] metal pots (manjushakohi).[176] Pitchers (Kumbha)[177] and ghata[178] of smaller size were used for storage of water or food stuff. Jars of unbaked clay (ainakumbha)[179] also served the same purpose. There are also references to painted vessels (chitraghata),[180] and those of gold (suvarna), silver (rupya)[181] and other metals. The pot for storing ghee was known as ghritakunda[182] and its makers had a guild of their own.[183] The Gandhara sculpture depicts drinking horn,[184] wine bowl and water vessel,[185] besides certain Greek utensils like kantharoo -

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a two-handled wine-cup[186] and Krater - meant for storing wine.

The information provided by the literature of the period on this item of social life is trustworthy. It is suggestive of the taste of the people in general as also of the affluent ones. Fasting (vrata)[187] was not unknown and was undertaken for reasons of health and fitness, though some kind of religious sanctity was equally attached to it.

Housing Arrangements :

The sculptures from Gandhara and Mathura no doubt provide bits of information on the nature of dwelling houses of the time and the contemporary literature[188] is equally helpful in this context.[189] The construction of a house began on a raised terrace (prasada) followed by the setting up of the wall (kudyam) and columns (stambha) with a strong base (mula). The roof-raften (gopanasi) were of wood (daro). The rooms had several windows (gavaksha) and balcony (harmya)[190]. The sculptures from Mathura usually depict a projecting balcony with the couples sitting on it. Dvara and torana - gate and gateways - are also noticed. Partition of rooms (bhitti)[191] was done for purpose of privacy, and copings (vedikas) ensured protection from rain water. The top-most apartment was given a special name (kushtagara).[192] Houses were also painted (varnita).[193] Different floors were connected with each other through stairs (sopanas).[194] A separate apartment for ladies (antahpura)[195] ensured privacy for them. There are references to hovels of straw (katapali-kunchuka)[196] and thaches (trana)[197] of which specimens are noticed in Gandhara[198] and Mathura[199] sculptures. The houses of affluent people were decorated with beautiful cushions (pratyastarana),[200] carpets (erapa)[201] and soft-

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scented beds (sayane mriduke sugandha)[202]. The Divyavadana[203] mentions different kinds of mattings (kilmjamatram) and manduraka. Lighting at night was done with the ordinary lamp (tailapradipa), ghee lamp (ghrita-pradipa). Other kinds of scented oils (champataila, utpalataila)[204] were used in temples or on festive occasions.

Luxuries and Social Evils :

An affluent society was the source of social evils that followed luxury and exhibitionism. The Saddharmapundarika[205] draws picture of a rich man sitting at his door on a decorated stool and fanned by a chowrie girl.[206] The same work as well refers to a father providing a jewelled decorated cart for his children's s-port. Gay and hilarious scenes portrayed in art are symbolical of the life style of the people of upper strata in society. The Bacchalian scenes from Maholi (Mathura) and Gandhara toilet trays are specific on this point. A few social evils, like gambling, beggary, prostitution and crimes are noticed in literature. The gambler (dyutkara)[207] could squander away the accumulated wealth[208] in wager which could be as high as five hundred puranas or silver pieces. Begging was not unknown. The social parasite, known as krodamallaka in the Divyavadana[209] was unwelcome like a donkey, and was looked down with contempt if dressed in good clothes.[210] Refe-rences to public women are also noticed.[211] Four terms - ganika, vesavadhva, panyaparinita and darika are applied to these women, who catered to the sensual pleasure (bhogavritna)[212] for considera-tion. Such public women had their separate locality called ganika-vithi with their head known as viramukhya.[23]

Disposal of the Dead :

Sculptures from Gandhara as well as from Mathura portray

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scenes relating to Buddha's death and his cremation. The dead body under a shroud was carried by kinsmen of the dead amidst beating of breasts and lamentation with scattered hair (pravirna-kesah).[214] Asvaghosha refers to the dress of mournful colour[215] while the Milindapanha[216] refers to corpse burners (Chavadahaka - Savadahaka).

The social life of the people in the Kushana period does not appear to be different from the one of the preceding time - the Sunga period. The usual division of society on the basis of birth was normally recognised and the family life with the hegemony of the father had not undergone any change in this period. Women seem to have enjoyed proper status in society. There are a large number of records of women donors, enjoining fruit for the entire family, consisting of the father-in-law, husband and then her own father suggest observance of sound kind of family protocol. Marriage was a sacred institution and its sanctity was not affected either by polygamy or because of the institution of public women. Family ties were stronger and ladies, particularly of the upper strata, as well indulged in drinks, a social norm earlier mentioned by Patanjali. Affluence and prosperity, evident from dress and ornaments as also house decorations, with varigated items of food catering to their tastes, reveal a cultured and refined social set-up. People equally had their pastime and recreations, according to their age and nature. These sometimes resulted in evils like gambling etc. References to beggary, prostitution and other evils in society no doubt point to the other side of the picture. The process of continuity and changes, the normal features in any social system, was evident as a result of impact with and assimilation of foreigners who came to Northern

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India in this period and were equally absorbed in society. The other side of the situation across the Himalyas in Central Asia equally demands consideration and appreciation.

Indian Culture in Central Asia :

The foundation of Indian culture in Central Asia owes its origin to Buddhism and trade relations. The plantation of Indian colonies and those of others on the trade routes necessarily set the process of cultural fusion and inter-action into operation. Buddhism and its introduction accelerated the process. There are traces of Indian names in records and manuscripts both in the northern and in the southern areas of exploration. The Chinese pilgrims who passed through these routes between the fourth and the seventh centuries A.D. have recorded Buddhism and the ways of Indian life in these areas. There are references to rulers bearing Indian names in both the sectors. Buddhism, according to the Tibetan Annal, [217] is said to be introduced in Khotan during the reign of Vijayasimha, the grandson of the founder Kustana - a son of Asoka. All the successive rulers in the Annals have the prefix 'Vijaya' added to their names - such as Vijayavira, Vijayadharma, Vijayakiriti, Vijayasangrama, Vijayabala etc. Kanishka, according to Tibetan and Chinese sources, sought the help of Vijayakirti, son of Vijayasimha in his expeditions against Northern Indian powers, and Kanishka returned back to Khotan.

In analogy to the Indian rulers at Khotan, those at Kucha on the northern route included Haripushpa, Suvarnapushpa, Haradeva, Suvarnadeva and others. Kumarajiva belonged to his place and his father Kumarayana, a great scholar, had come here

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from Kashmir and married Jiva, a royal princes. Another Indian colony on the northern route was at Karasahr - called Agnidesa in ancient records and its rulers too had Indian names like Indrajina and Chandrajina. The Indian names appearing in records from Lou lan, Endere and Niya include Anandmitra, Buddhamitra, Dharmapala, Punyadeva, Vasudeva, Arjune, Bhimasena, Buddhamitra, Kumudchati, Charaka, Dhannapala, Vasudeva, etc. Certain mixed names are as well noticed in record - such as Chauleya, Chuvalayina, Kapageya, Kalapisa, Kipasa, Kitasaila, Lamputra, Pulakayou, Signaya, Varapeya etc. The references to titles of rulers - maharayasa rayatirasa skt. maharajasa rajatirayasa, and avijida-simhasya - skt. avijitasimhasya and devaputra are suggestive of the legacy of the Imperial Kushana monarches. The association of names - Indian and native - in record suggest their joint participation. Thus, one inscription (318) mentions Cozbo Indra-sena and Kritisana associated with the Ogus Asuraja Piteya, Rohana, Camkura, Purnadeva and Cozbo Mitrapala. Another record (418) notices a priest Sariputra receiving an adopted child from Devga Amto - named Sirateyas - and marrying her to the priest Jivalo Athane Buddhavarma in lawful marriage. The daughter from this union was given in marriage to priest Jivalo Athane. Reference to three generations of cross relations in this record reveals many interesting aspects of social life.

218

Family Life :

The traditional joint family system was the usual norm in Central Asian social system. The family included father, mother, brothers and younger sisters (kudi), with the head exercising authority over them. The terms used for the members of the family are also Indian, like matu, madu for mother,

219

220

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putra and suta for son, pitamaha for grand father, prapotra, prautra for grandson, napata for daughter's son ; bhrata, bhratu for brother, bhrata-putra for nephew, jamatra for son-in-law, svasu for sister, bharya for wife, putriana dhitu for daughter. Kula and parivara are used for family as a unit. Familiarity and closeness among kinsmen and relations are evident from the norms used in letters. A Buddhist monk addresses his brother in an affectionate manner,[221] without alienating himself completely from the family tie. A lady communicates with her sister,[222] addressing her as a pleasing person (priyadarsini). This suggests literacy among the upper strata of society.

The head of the family was enjoined to restrain other members from raising any settled issue in future, failing which he had to renounce his control over them (621).[223] The head equally ensured their safety and comforts, particularly in times of distress or emergency.[224] Adopted child as also slave were accepted as family members on payment of consideration. Even elderly ladies could be accepted in adoption[225] and they were entitled to a share by way of inheritence. The birth of a son in the family was an occasion for rejoicing[226] but that of a daughter did cause depression. Different terms are used for girls according to age.[227] A young girl was called kudi and on maturing became dhitu, and after marriage was known as bharya and with children matu skt. matri. Arsha form of marriage is implied in the demand for bride's price (lete) from the bridegroom. He could legally claim it, but not if the girl had run away with her suitor (621).[228] Women was equally vendible and could be sold (380), exchanged or transferred for payment of debt.[229] Marriage was generally fixed in the same vocational group. A Buddhist monk married his daughter to

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another monk legally,[230] but there is instance of a girl eloping with a potter's son, against her father's wish.[231] (621). Marital relations among close relations was not unknown though not common. Sometimes these were on a reciprocal basis (vinimaya).[232] This was fairly common with the Hunas. Communication difficulties necessitated local marriage.[233]

Status of Women and slaves :

The status of a married women in the family was rather limited. She could not participate in social and public activities. Her husband had full authority over her person, from the use of violence for corrective purpose[234] to pledging her or dispossessing her in satisfaction of debt clearance.[235] Her value was assessed in terms of rolls of silken cloth,[236] the price of a camel,[237] carpets of different sizes and even household good.[238] Dissolution of marriage[239] was possible in cases not covered by monetary payment to the girl's father. A term vivega - probably meaning separation - is recorded in an inscription.[240] The upper class ladies - educated and capable of free communication - seemed to have been better off.[241] Slaves - both male and female - as well found part of the family. Several terms are used for them, such as dasa,[242] (345, 491), dasi,[243] dahja[244] (569) dhaja[245] (227), dhaju[246] (39, 45) and the master is called bhatare[247] (147) - bhataraja - skt. bhattaraka. The domestic servant, different from a slave, is called presi[248] (204). Another term for the domestic employee is vathayaga - vadhaya[249] (118) equated with Khotanese Vakshaya and Tokharian Upasthayaka. Some records[250] (19, 54, 401) as well mention the scale of emoluments in the form of salary and perquisites - parikraya bhojana (pachevara) food and clothes (chodaga). His job was to look after grazing cattles. The slaves on the other

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hand received only food and clothing. A record[251] (25) mentions 3 milion rice and another[252] (470) 10 khi rice as the remuneration of a servant. Carriers on their back called prithabharika skt. Prishtabharika[253] carried short distance goods. Slaves were bonded for specific periods like 10 years[254] or 12 years.[255] The breach of agreement was punishable.[256] Slaves could as well be punished by their masters, depending on the nature of the crime committed by them.[257] Abduction of slaves was known.[258] Slaves were marketable as well as presentable commodities.[259] The master was liable for the lapses of his slave, and for theft and he had to make good the loss. A benevolent master sometimes transferred his right in the form in favour of his slave. A slave could win back his freedom by paying back lote and mukesi to his master,[260] and the master could not illegally appropriate his slave's earned property,[261] nor could this be executed in payment of debt. (49). Monks also kept slave to look after their farms and property interests.[262]

Food & Food Habits :

Wheat, rice and corn were items of staple food. Flour (ata - ata and saktu)[263] and rice (dhanya) were commonly used. Condiments and saucy stuff - pepper (maricha), ginger (orakhing), arakhima of pepper (pipali - pipala), and cardamons were used to make the food delicious. Meat and non-vegetarian food was more nutritious than the vegetarian one[264] including ghee. Several inscriptions notice use of spiritious liquor.[265] A record refers to the supply of old wine to the ruler and people taking only three khi of ordinary drink. Wine prepared from grapes had to be sealed for ensuring its genuineness.[266] Food substained body for existence[267] (nisagnam).

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Dress and Ornaments :

The information relating to this aspect of social life is provided by the records and sculptures as also accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, though belated ones. The dress no doubt varied according to climate, with the use of woollens and fur as also silk and cotton.[268] The ladies dress consisted of a trouser and a pettycoat type of covering called pamzavanta made of prigha - a kind of silk.[269] Another inscription mentions embroidered vidapa - a jacket made of white silk, samimna, lyokmanna of many colours, yellow coloured kharavarana patovarnaga garment, varsara, fine hasta of woollen cloth (Umna - urna) and blue dyed kigni. Chotaga or chodaga[270] was the coat or the upper covering of universal use. (19, 506). Some other items of clothing were kavasi - inner clothing, kanchuli - skt. kanchulika - for covering the upper part of the ladies bddy. This was made of silk (kauseya) as well as of wool (urna) and was also dyed.[271] (318). A small jacket was called kanchabandha (149). This inscription also refers to roughly woven clothes, woollen clothes, jackets, sanstamasi belts and chinese robes.[272] The head dress is suggested by a term Chinabeda (353). Two inscriptions[273] (272, 714) mention chandri-kammata, probably some sort of trouser, while Ching-chimara skt. Chivara was a Chinese type overcoat. Inscriptions mention some other items as well for the clothes put on by people in that part of Central Asia where these records wer-e found. These included kachikamuta[274] (714) - Khotanese - Konadayi - a kind of trouser, puchana[275] - some kind of cotton night dress, pasamvanta[276] (534) made of cloth, lastuga[277] (144, 298, 566) made of many coloured silk, probably some kind of scarf. The Indian blanket (Kambala) is called loyi - Hindi loyi, and also as kojava[278] (583, 593, 599).

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An inscription[279] (660) refers to rolls of silk.

The Indian garments are depicted in Miran paintings.[280] People wear loin-cloth (dhoti) gathered about their legs and stole draped over the shoulders. The drapery is shaded or contoured with matching colours - red with black lines, green with dark grey ; white with pale grey and yellow with red. The Indian loin-cloth (dhoti) is also traced in the painting from Toyuk,[281] near Turfan in the northern part of Central Asia. A long dhoti covers the legs to the ankles, and the short one leaves the legs bare. A kind of upavita or narrow shawl crosses the left shoulder and passes round the body below the left arm. A stole passing over the shoulders and winding round the arms, with free flowing end was commonly used as an upper covering. In the Turfan area paintings, costumes are either loose draperies of the Indian type or elaborately tailored garments[282] conforming to fashions of the incoming and local communities. The use of sandals or shoes of elaborate fashion is a notable feature. The highly decorative shoes, patterned in red on a white ground, with plaiting or quilting,[283] are noticed in Bezeklik paintings.

The Central Asian paintings as also a few Kharoshthi records reveal use of ornaments by males and females.[284] One record (566) mentions seven-stringed pearl ornament (mutilata) and the ear pendant (sudi).[285] Another inscription (149) refers to the use of a silver ornament. The Miran paintings depict different kinds of jewellery including armlets, bracelets, ear-rings, garters, mukuta, carcanet, armlets and bangles adorning the male figure, along with pearl studded garlands or necklets.[286] A prince in a Bezeklik painting has the long, slit lobes of his ears carrying gold rosettes from which hang bunches of five-coloured beads. Such beads are also

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attached to armlets and earrings. Mukuta or tiara with its varied compositions - crown-like, jewelled and decked with flowers[287] or with three gold bosses at the centre, one at each side and a red and green palmettes above figures prominently in these paintings.[288] Coiffure and head dress, as depicted in paintings,[289] are varied and significant.

Pastime and Recreations :

A sophisticated life style naturally enjoined provision for recreation in a dignified manner.[290] A solitary inscription (13) notices hunting excursion which sometimes involved wounding of horses and mares. The painted scenes depict some animals in this context, such as lions, wild goats, elephants, bulls and camels.[291] The last two are mentioned in a record.[292] The famous cowherd Nanda scene from Kuzil[293] has two cattles, one dark in colour and the other white lying on the ground. In another scene of seated vajrapani from the same cave are noticed two sharp-beaked falcon-like birds. A hunting scene is depicted on a clay sealing from Farhad-Beg Yailaki[294] with a man on horse back galloping with a sword in his uplifted right hand. A lioness is shown behind the horse and a goat or deer is shown running.[295] The swimmers scene from Kizil shows persons in some pool among white lilies. The man on the right swims with powerful strokes suggesting determination and skill in swimming

Khotan and Kucha were also noted for their music. The green-eyed people of Khotan, according to the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-Tsang, were very fond of music and dancing. In the famous 'attainment of Parinirvana painting' from Bezeklik,[296] four musicians contribute to the sounds of lamentation, with professional enthusiasm and energy. The players include drummers holding the drum

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under his right arm and beats it with a ball-headed stick. To his left the cymbal player clashes his box-like instrument above his head. Another person plays a flute with the left hand. The divine musician from Kizil[297] suggests the continuation of the musical traditions at Kucha which was the centre of Indian influenced music in Central Asia from where it spread to China.[298] It appears that along with Buddhism, Indian music was brought to Kucha, as supported by many musical instruments of Indian origin in wall paintings.

Society in Central Asia, particularly in areas which were dominated by Indians as evinced from the names of rulers - both on the northern as well as on the southern routes, was not much different from the one in Northern India. Of course, native influence on culture, as also the impact of foreigners - Iranians and Chinese in later times did have its stamp on the social set-up. This became evident in different aspects of social life - particularly dress, food habits etc. The horse culture of Central Asia with the use of long boots, stirrups and toga and a big sword was a continuing feature of cultural tradition as was handed down through the ages. New ideas, new manners and customs continued to spread from one direction to another in Central Asia. The traditional joint-family system with the hegemony of the head, the food habits of the people with the use of popular Indian codiments, and dress - the Indian dhoti or loin cloth and scarf and items of pastime and recreations are suggestive of Indian influence on the social life of the people. With the passage of time the Indian impact of the earlier centuries of the Christian era had to pave the way for Chinese cultural domination, followed later on by the forces of Islam. While it is difficult

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to expose specific features of social set-up relating to the period of the Kushanas, it is no doubt an accepted fact that the Kushans lingered on for a much longer period in Central Asia probably till the fifth century A.D. and as such the data from the records of Lou Lon, Endere and Niya as also of the account of the Chinese pilgrim could very well be suggestive of society and economy being related to or contemporary with the period of the Later Kushanas.

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FOOTNOTES

1. EI. I. p. 383 no.4.
2. Divyavadana - henceforth Div. p. 486. 13
3. Vol. II. p. 52. le. 14-16 ; p. 382. l.10.
4. p. 178 le. 5 ff.
5. I. p. 245.
6. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.
7. Luder's List Nos. 1131, 1132. It is interesting to learn that in the Buddhist cave inscriptions provision is made for the dedication of money to the gods and Brahmanas.
8. Div. p. 424. 1.
9. ibid. p. 611. 7.
10. CII. II. p. 135.
11. EI. I. p. 383, no.3 ; p. 395, n. 38 ; p. 396 n. 36. The father's name is sometimes missing (JRAS. 1914. p. 157) and it also precedes that of the father-in-law (IA. 1903. p. 168) ; ASR. II. p. 34 no. 16.
12. EI. p. 387 no. 11.
13. EI. II. p. 209 no. 36.
14. CII. II. p. 142.
15. ibid. p. 145.
16. ibid. p. 162.
17. EI. II. p. 207 no. 27.
18. Saundarananda - henceforth Saun. I. 30.
19. EI. X. p. 115 no. 8.
20. EI. II. p. 219 no. 22.
21. Lalit. II. p. 23. le. 2.
22. ibid. p. 22. le. 2
23. Sadh.Pun. p. 108.
24. Lalit. VIII. p. 117. le. 17.
25. EI. II. p. 264. no. 21 ; Vol. I. p. 384 no.1.
26. Sadh-Pun. p. 34.

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27. ibid. p. 102.

28. Div. 211-6 ; 214-5

29. ibid. 258.

30. Sadh.Pun. IV. p. 104.

31. Saun. VI. 35.

32. ibid. IV. 26.

33. pp. 3.8

34. Cunningham. Bharhut pl. XXXII ; XXXIII.

35. Buddhacharita - henceforth - Budh. Char. IX. 44.

36. XII. p. 157

37. Sadh.Pun. IV. 35.

38. EII. pp. 371 ff.

39. EI. XII. p. 139

40. ibid. p. 143.

41. EI. II. p. 83

42. p. 47

43. VI. p. 266

44. I. 21.

45. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13. p. 22 pl. 7. See also Marshall Gandhara Art pp. 23, 24, 35, 70 for the description of dress depicted in the plates.

46. Marshall - ibid. p. 47 pp. 40-41.

47. ibid. fig. 49.

48. ibid. fig. 50.

49. Sahni. Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum - henceforth - Sahni - Cat. No. A. P. 83.

50. Vogel - Catalogue of the Mathura Museum - henceforth - Vogel - Cat.

51. ibid. No. F. 26 p. 109.

52. EI. X. p. 239.

53. Hamid. Cat. Sanchi Museum - No.A. 83.

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54. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12. pp. 120 ff. Pl. 53 ; Marg. XV. No.2. 1962 front cover.

55. Whitehead. Cat. Coins Punjab Museum - P.M.C. Pl. XVIII nos. 63-76.

56. Ref. 54.

57. Saun. VIII. 48.

58. ibid. V. 7

59. ibid. IV. 38

60. ibid. V. 53

61. p. 276. 11

62. ibid. 22. 19

63. IV. p. 106. 11

64. VII. p. 83

65. XV. p. 203

66. IV. p. 63

67. p. 17

68. Saun. IV. 26

69. Maha. II. p. 467. 13 ; Mil. 337 ; EI. p. 384 No. 5.

70. Marshall : Gandhara. p. 35.

71. ibid. p. 25

72. EI. IX. p. 239 with Plate

73. IX. p. 121.

74. IV. 19 ; VI. 5.

75. p. 41.

76. Cunningham. Bharhut. Pl. XXXII, XXII.

77. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-07 p. 106.

78. J. 278. Vogel. Cat. p. 110. See also Puri : Toilet and Treatment of Hair in the Kushana Period. IC. XIII. pp. 166.

79. IV. 31.

80. ibid. IV. 36

81. Lalit. V. p. 41.

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82. Saun. VIII. 50 ; Budd.Char. IX. 8

83. Saun. IV. 16

84. ibid. IV. 38 ; Marshall refers to Toilet trays in Gandhara. (Op.cit pp. 17 ff).

85. p. 11. ll. 10

86. Lalit. VI. p. 76.

87. Lucknow Museum. Label No. 1392.

88. ibid. No. B. 61, 65, 99.

89. Marshall : Op.cit fig. 27.

90. Luck. Mus. No. B.80.

91. ibid. J. 595, 595 A.

92. ibid. J. 598.

93. ibid. J. 275.

94. Marshall. Op.cit. fig. 58, 62.

95. ibid. fig. 20.

96. ibid. fig. 41.

97. ibid. figs. 34, 37.

98. ibid. figs. 14, 19.

99. ibid. figs. 41, 96.

100. p. 339. 27

101. I. 39

102. pp. 395, 477. 18

103. Sadh.Pun. II. 18.

104. Lalit. XII. p. 151.

105. ibid. p. 152.

106. AS. XL. p. 227.

107. Sadh.Pun. II. 18

108. Mah. II. p. 175.

109. Sadh.Pun. III. pp. 71 ff.

110. Budh.Ch. V.1.

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111. Mah. III. p. 169.

112. ibid. p. 442 ; Div. p. 53.22

113. ibid. p. 514.18

114. EI. I. p. 390 No. 16.

115. II. p. 175

116. XVII. p. 93

117. III. p. 442.

118. XIII. p. 173

119. AS. LXXXV. II. p. 24.

120. Mah. III. p. 442.

121. Mah. I. p. 327 ; Sadh.Pun. II. 91 ; Lalit. V. p. 40

122. Marshall. Op.cit pp. 91, 72, 47, 38, 18, 12 (for different instruments noticed in sculptures).

123. ibid. fig. 49

124. ibid. fig. 82

125. Vogel. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7. p. 153 pl. 34 ; Vogel : Cat. Mat.Mus. No. C. p. 83.

126. Cat. Mat.Mus. J. 268 ; Marg. XV. No.2 ; illus. No. 19 p. 36.

127. ibid. XV. G. 48 ; E. 17

128. ibid. J. 61.

129. ibid. J. 57.

130. No. 2642

131. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-07 p. 143.

132. Mahabhashya - Kielhorn : Vol. III. p. 442.

133. pp. 53.22 ; 63.27

134. p. 514. 18

135. III. pp. 12.

136. p. 229.

137. pp. 114, 327.

138. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.

139. I. 36.

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140. Sadh.Pun. IV. p. 108.

141. Mah. I. p. 327.

142. Div. 496. 9

143. Saun. XIII. 15

144. ibid. I. 12.

145. Lalit. VIII. p. 120.

146. Div. 499.25

147. ibid. p. 49

148. Div. 297.14

149. Sadh.Pun. V. 9

150. Lalit. XII. p. 158 ; Mil. 63.13

151. Sadh.Pun. V. 9

152. Lalit. V. p. 40. 17

153. ibid.

154. Div. 297.11 ; 496.9

155. Mil. 16.28

156. ibid. 63.14

157. Sukh. X. p. 27.

158. Sadh.Pun. V. 9 ; Lalit. V. p. 40.

159. Lalit. V. p. 40.

160. Div. p. 297.11

161. ibid. p. 409.21

162. Lalit. IV. p. 37.4 ; Mil. p. 63 ; Sadh.Pun. IV. p. 106.

163. Div. 30.18

164. ibid. 185.22

165. Sadh.Pun. IV. p. 106.13

166. Mah. II. p. 478.6 ; Mil. p. 63.12

167. p. 258.21

168. Saun. I. 15.

169. 4b Mil. 278.29

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170. Lalit. XV. 214. 22

171. Saun. IV. 2

172. Marshall : Op.cit. Figs. 47, 50, 51.

173. Sadh.Pun. IV. p. 106.10

174. Div. 123.22

175. Sadh.Pun. XXIII. p. 431.22

176. ibid. XVIII. 37

177. Lalit. VIII. 118. 11

178. ibid. XII. 158. 9

179. ibid. XII. 175. 19

180. ibid. XV. 207. 9

181. ibid. V. 41.2

182. Mah. III. 442.8

183. Op. cit. Fig. 49.

184. ibid. Figs. 49, 50

185. ibid. Fig. 51.

186. Fig. 29.

187. Lalit. XII. 151.17

188. Mil. 204.6

189. Sadh.Pun. III. 386.

190. Vogel. Cat. Op. cit.

191. Lalit. VI. 63.7

192. ibid. VII. 77.13

193. ibid. VI. 63.8

194. ibid. XVI. 186.12

195. Sadh.Pun. XIII. 61.

196. ibid. IV. 106.2

197. ibid. VII. 77.13

198. Marshall. Op.cit 66.

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199. Jataka & The Worst Evil Scene - JBORS. VI. p. 470.

200. Div. 19.20

201. ibid. 19.22

202. Lalit. V. 42

203. Div. 19.20

204. Sadh. Pun. XVI. 337 ; XXI. p. 405

205. II. 82

206. II. p. 73

207. Mah. III. p. 169. AS. LXXVII.

208. Lalit. XV. 208

209. 85.20 ; AS. LXXXIX ; II. 116.

210. 263.2

211. Sadh.Pun. XIII. 12 ; Mah. II. p. 168 ; Div. p. 529.2

212. ibid. XIII.

213. Div. p. 251 11. 21.22

214. Lalit. XVI. p. 190

215. Saun. V. 153.

216. p. 331.

217. Rockhill. Life of the Buddha. London. 1884 pp. 230 ff.
cf. Puri. Buddhism in Central Asia. Delhi 1987 p. 228n.

218. Boyer, Rapson and Senart : Kharoshthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan. I-III. Oxford. 1921-29. See also Burrow. A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan. London. 1940.

219. Burrow. Inscriptions. Op.cit Nos. 164, 195.

220. ibid. Nos. 450, 562.

221. ibid No. 646.

222. ibid No. 316

223. ibid No. 621

224. ibid No. 362

225. ibid No. 528

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226. ibid. No. 702.

227. ibid No. 279.

228. ibid No. 621

229. ibid Nos. 380, 551, 114

230. ibid Nos. 18, 474

231. ibid No. 64

232. ibid No. 279

233. ibid Nos. 279, 481

234. ibid No. 279

235. ibid No. 719

236. ibid No. 3

237. ibid Nos. 209, 578

238. ibid No. 706

239. ibid Nos. 34, 621

240. ibid No. 34

241. ibid No. 316

242. ibid Nos. 345, 491

243. ibid No. 621

244. ibid No. 569

245. ibid No. 287

246. ibid Nos. 39, 45

247. ibid No. 147

248. ibid No. 204

249. ibid No. 118

250. ibid Nos. 19, 54, 401

251. ibid No. 525

252. ibid No. 470

253. ibid No. 396

254. ibid No. 550

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255. ibid No. 364

256. ibid No. 764

257. ibid Nos. 518, 345, 561

258. ibid Nos. 36, 324, 491

259. ibid Nos. 589, 590, 591

260. ibid No. 589

261. ibid No. 24

262. ibid No. 152

263. ibid No. 359

264. ibid No. 514

265. ibid Nos. 175, 244

266. ibid No. 247

267. ibid Nos. 478, 641

268. Stein. Khotan. p. 137

269. Kharoshthi Documents No. 316

270. ibid. Nos. 19, 05, 06

271. ibid No. 318

272. ibid No. 353

273. ibid Nos. 272, 714

274. ibid No. 714

275. ibid No. 538

276. ibid No. 534

277. ibid Nos. 144, 298, 566

278. ibid Nos. 583, 593, 599

279. ibid No. 660

280. Andrews. Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia. London 1948. p. XXII ; also p. 8. cf. Bussagli. Paintings of Central Asia. Geneva. 1963. p. 261, 263 ; Puri. Buddhism in Central Asia. Op.cit Pl. I-III.

281. Andrews. ibid p. 42

282. ibid p. xxvi

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283. ibid pp. 58, 60

284. Op. cit No. 566

285. ibid No. 149

286. Andrews. Op. cit p. 71.

287. ibid. pp. 31, 55, 58

288. ibid. p. 72

289. ibid. pp. 52, 84, 88. Stein notices the head dress of a princess in the mural painting in cella V at Miran. Her hair descenes in black tresses below the neck, with love locks in front of the ears and two frings crossing the forehead. In another figure two strings of red bead crossing the hair obliquely are fastened with a circular jewelled ornament above the middle of the forehead. (Serindia. Vol. I. p. 519).

290. Documents. Op.cit No. 13

291. ibid No. 139

292. Stein. Op.cit. pp. 506, 891, 950, 943 et al

293. Bussagli. Op.cit p. 72

294. Stein. Serindia p. 1257

295. Martin Lerner. Central Asian Art. New York. 1982. p. 90

296. Andrews. Op.cit. Bez. XII. AI. Pl. XXVIII p. 95. for a detailed account, including reference to the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang's account.

297. Lerner. Op.cit p. 93.

298. It is reported that when Chinese rule was extended to this region in A.D. 382, the General Proptor Lu-Kuang brought group of performers - actors, musicians and dancers - back to China as booty. Among the instruments in use were the five-stringed lute, harp, mouth organ, drum, cymbals, gongs and the four-stringed Kucha lute. (Hertel. Along the Silk Route. p. 93).

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC LIFE

Cooperative enterprise and corporate activity with accelerated land trade and over-sea commerce characterised the economic life of the Kushana period in the Northern India and Central Asia. The organisation of professional and trade interests into guilds ensured protection from undue competition and production of commodities at considerable pace. The effort in pushing up this aspect of life was individual or through groups of people with identical interests. In terms of modern concepts, the private sector was fairly organised ensuring production and export of surplus items as were in demand to other parts of the world - particularly in Rome and Western Asia. This is evident from the accounts left by Pliny and the anonymous writer of the 'Periplus' in the context of trade between India and the Western world. The former also refers to India's favourable position with surplus earning. Pliny warns his country-men against use of items of luxuries for which the Romans had to pay heavily. The list of items of export and import by India is fairly exhaustive pointing to the available economic resources of the country and their proper utilisation by the people. The contemporary literature and a few inscriptions as well point to trade routes and channels in the country with the movement of merchant caravans (Sarthavaha) carrying goods from the interior to the ports of embarcation. The risk involved in this caravan trade, sometimes to the extent of its complete rout due to natural and manual calamities, is equally recorded in the texts. Traders coming from Takshasila (Taxila) to Varanasi or from Sravasti to Sopara had to undertake hazarduous journey in caravans, sometimes having five hundred traders, headed by the jethaka, their leader, who

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knew the way and guided them safely. The risk involved in such journeys was worth the money received in payment from the sale of goods.

The importance given to trade and indigenous industries did not affect or overshadowed the land economy. Agriculture and cattle rearing formed the backbone of economic activities both in Northern India as also in Central Asia. In both the sectors provision was made for irrigational facilities probably by the ruling authority and administrators to faciliate production in the absence of adequate rainfall. References to different types of coins - particularly gold ones on the model of the Roman durie - point to exchange facilities in trade between the two nations and their traders. The finds of Roman gold coins in hoards in Northern as also southern India are suggestive of brisk trade through different ports scattered on the western coast as also on the eastern one. Excavations have brought out pieces of Roman pottery at Airakamedu (Pondicherry) and from other places. The vast hoards of such coins from North-west accord importance to the land route trade, particularly the silk trade route between China and the West which had gained considerable importance due to political stability and safety of movement. These aspects of economic life in the Kushana period may now be considered in different aspects.

Guilds :

Called Sreni or puga in literature and inscriptions, guilds were not new to this period. These could be traced much earlier to the sixth century B.C. in the Jatakas.[1] Their traditional number, as recorded in these birth stories, is eighteen (ashtadasasreni). The same number, however, continues with a

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different set recorded in the Mahavastu[2] - a Sanskrit Buddhist text of this period. The names of a few guilds are also mentioned in inscriptions[3] from Western India of the Andhra-Satavahana period. The famous inscription[4] of the time of Huvishka from Mathura dated in the year 28 of Kanishka's era mentions two guilds of traders in provisions. One of these two samitakara - 'wheat flour' - is also noticed in the Mahavastu list. The other one rather broken named - was probably that of dhangika - the corn dealers. The list of guilds from the Sanskrit-Buddhist text contains the following names : Goldsmiths (suvarnikas - hairanyakas), makers or sellers of cloakes (pravaraka), jewel splenderers (maniprastarakas), perfumers (gandhikas), oil millers (tailikas), makers of pots for storing ghee (ghrita kandikas), makers of molasses (golikas), curd makers (dadhikas), cotton cloth makers (karpasikas), makers of candid sugar (khanda-karakas), sweetmeat confectioners (modaka-karakas), wheat flour dealers (samitakarakas), grinders of barley meal (saktu-karakas), fruit dealers (phala-vaniyas), dealers in roots (mulavaniyas), flour grinders (Churna-kutakas), dealers in perfumed oil (gandha-tailakas) and provision dealers (attavanijas). Besides these eighteen ones, there is some reference to guilds in the Vinaya[5] texts and some are noticed in records - Weavers (kokkanikayakas)[6], potters (kulairakas)[7], workers dealing in hydraulic engines (amdayantrikas)[8], corn dealers (dhamnikas)[9], bamboo workers (Vasakarakas)[10], and braziers (kamskaras)[11].

Some evidence regarding the organisation of these guilds and their activities is afforded by the records. The head of the guild was called Sreshthin,[12] without any reference to his control and powers over other members of the guild. An earlier reference

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from the Vinaya Text[13] mentions him as an arbitrator in disputes of individual members. These guilds as well received permanent deposits (akshayanivi) and carried out the duties assigned to them under the stipulation. In this context reference has been made to the Mathura record[14] of the year 28 recording two deposits of 550 Puranas with two guilds of samitakara - wheat flour, and probably dhannika - corn dealers, with the condition that out of the interest that accrued on these deposits from month to month (masanumasan), a hundred Brahmins were to be fed in the alms house and some provision was to be left for the indigent and the poor. The fee for meeting such responsibilities by the guilds is not recorded in this record. The investment of such a substantial amount of money with these guilds is suggestive of the economic stability of such guilds functioning as indigenous banks, otherwise a foreigner would not have entered into this transaction. The guilds have a long history and continued to function as organised union of identical avocational interests for many centuries.

Business and Traders :

Two types of businessmen and traders are noticed in literature of the period - one with permanent establishment in the form of shops and the other ones which were mobile in their economic pursuits. The former were called vaniks while the latter ones were known as sarthavahas.[15] The shopkeepers made their living by buying and selling of their products (kraya-vikraya) in their shops.[16] The latter - sarthavahas - were more enterprising, indulging in maritime activities (sarthavaha - mahasamudravatirna).[17] The trading class included bullion dealers engaged in counting money and gold pieces (dhanam hiranyan ganati).[18]

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The gold asseyer was called herannika.[19] The money lender (sreshthin) also belonged to this group. He lent money (yoga-prayoga) and charged interest (prayoga)[20] for it. According to the Milindapanha, the grant of loan was made through a negotiator (inasadhaka).[21] If the borrower (inagahaka) failed to pay his debt, he had to face harassment (inatta)[22] and other unrecorded consequences. Besides these bankers, there were cloth dealers (dussikam).[23] Their stock included fine pieces of woven stuff (dussaratanam)[24] brought from Kasi (Kasika-vastra). Exchange of merchant goods (pratipanya) was mutually possible between traders (krayikas),[25] ~~The~~ and the process was called pratipanya.[26] The Divyavadana[27] refers to the deposit of earnest money (avadranga).

The term vanik is mentioned in a solitary record[28] of Pusikana-gapriya - wife of a trader (vanik).[29] Asvaghosha uses this term for both shop-keepers as well as caravan traders. The caravan traders travelled in company under the guidance of their chief called sarthavahajethaka,[30] or pramukha,[31] covering long distances. Asvaghosha refers to the fate of a traveller separating from his caravan (bhrashthasya sarthad-iva-sarthikasya).[32] The Lalitavistara[33] refers to caravans despoiled by robbers. The need for an excellent guide[34] was all the more great because of insecure roads and communication lines. This guide was supposed to be able (pandita), clever (nipuna), sagacious (medhavi) and well acquainted with the dangerous spots on the routes and forests.[35] The Milindapanha[36] also refers to a caravan owner and his coach (sarthavahasana). It also mentions certain rules and regulations relating to trader-s going on their own risk, and testing the stability of the bamboo bridge before mounting on it.[37] The inland traders covered long distances as for instance between Takshasila

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(Taxila) and Varanasi (Kasi).[38] The Avadanasataka refers to traders proceeding from the north to the south (madhya-desa-vanijodakshina pathangatah).[39] In the Milindapanha[40] there is a reference to a merchant going to Pataliputra with five hundred merchants, thus pointing to the prosperous nature of caravan trade.

Reference has been made to the seafaring merchants (sarthavaha mahasamudravatirnah).[41] A merchant of this class generally invited companions with similar business interests to accompany him by the call of the gang (ghant-avaghoshanam karitum).[42] The Mahavastu[43] mentions merchants crossing over heavy seas on ships laden with merchantdise.[44] The same work also refers to the transhipment of goods from the ship to a boat with the risk involved in it. Asvaghosha refers to ships struck by waves (tarangabhihata)[45] and winds (vatahata).[46] The pilot (niyyamaka)[47] exhibited his skill under difficult situations in saving his boat from going against the stream.[48] Warf and ferry dues (gulmatarpanya)[49] had to be paid before the sailing of the ship (samudrayana-patra) in the midst of all foreseen and unforeseen difficulties and conditions. A safe return from the sea voyage (vyuttishtapati) or (viyutpadyati)[50] was a happy moment in one's life.[51] The Milindapanha provides the list of disembarcation ports along the coasts of India as also foreign ones. These included coastal sailing connecting Bengal (Vanga) with the coromondal coast (Kolopattana), Sauvira (Sovira), and Surat (Suratta), but Indian ships touched far off ports like Alexandria (Alasandai) and Takkola in the west, and China (Chinan) and Java and Sumatra (Suvarnadvipa) in the East. The evidence from the western classical sources - especially from the account of Pliny, the 'Periplus', and the finds of Roman coins - on trade and commerce between India and the western world demands fuller

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consideration later on in this chapter.

Dealers in items of Luxuries :

The inscriptions and literature have special terms for persons engaged in different economic avocations. Those dealing in articles of luxuries and decorations were vendors of pearls (muttaratnam[52] - mukta-ratnam), jewellers (manikara)[53], dealers in red sandal wood (lohitachandanam)[54], dealers in all sorts of fineries who had formed a guild of their own (singara-vanija-gananucharitam)[55]. The perfumers (gandhika)[56] could as well be included in this professional class, and so also the garland makers (malakaras)[57]. All these three - jewellers, perfumers and garland makers had their separate guilds in the period of the Jatakas[58]. In this period, a few inscriptions[59] record dedications by the female members of the perfumer class, one being that of a jeweller's daughter[60]. Similarly the perfumers figure in two records from Amravati[61] and one from Pitalkhora[62]. They provided salve (vilepana), paint (viseshaka) and ointment (anjana) although some preparations might have been prepared at home.

Different kinds of jewels and jewellers are as well mentioned by Asvaghosha and by the classical Greek writers. Pliny refers[63] to jewel mines in India. Asvaghosha, however, considers a person fool who proceeding to a jewelmine fair, to pick up real jewels and picks up worthless and cheap stones[64]. The literature mentions[65] at least seven types of jewels - lapislazuli (vaidivya), crystal (sphatika), real pearl (lohita-mukta), emerald (asmagarbha), and coral (musaragalbha)[66]. Reference to the cutting of jewels into eight facets (ashtamsani) suggest the existence of another class of precious stone-cutters, but the evidence on this point is wanting. The migration of jewellers is evident from two

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records from Kanheri,[67] one by Nagapalita of Sopara, and another by a Sindh jeweller. The jewellers quarter in Sindh was conspicuous. These references along with the information provided by Pliny[68] suggest flouris-hing business of jewellers. Similarly, garland makers (malakaras) are mentioned in two records[69] of their dedications from Kuda. The florists sold garments and were different from gardeners mentioned as aramika in the Avadanasataka.[70] These above-mentioned professions dealt mostly in items of luxuries and toilet and commanded a good market in India and abroad. The Milinda-panha refers to guild of traders dealing in all sorts of fineries.

Dealers in Provisions and other Essentials :

Besides flour-makers (samitakara) and corn-dealers (dhaññika) mentioned earlier, the grinders of barley (saktukaraka)[71] and flour-grinders (churna-kuttaka) had their separate guilds. Several other professions connected with essential items of food and catering were hawkers of boild rice (odanika)[72], sellers of cakes (puvika), sellers of fishes (machchikas)[73], different from fishermen (balasika), dealers in mutton (aurabhram)[74], makers of molasses (gudapachaka), dealers in honey (madhukaraka)[75], sugar (sarakaravanija), sweetmeat dealers (ukkarikapanan)[76], dealers in spices (gandhikapanika)[77] and fuel shop keepers (kashtabaniyyam).[78] Other professions relatively connected with this class could be those of oil-millers (tilapadaka), seasum powder makers (tilakutaka)[79], winnovers of grain (pavanenatthha-yaka)[80]. Dealers in strong drinks were known as majjika. Some producers of these items were not actual vendors of these one, such as fishermen (balasika) and sellers of fishes (machchika).

Masons, Mechanics and Artists :

The literature mentions quite a good number of professions relating to mechanical arts, as also masons and architects. The

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former one included workers skilled in mechanical art (silpika)[81], those in hydraulic engines (yantrakara)[82], also called Odayantrikas in a Nasik record,[83] carriage builders (rathakara),[84] and makers of oil-wheels (tailika chakra).[85] The mason class included architects (pesalaka), plaster layers (lepaka), well-diggers (kupakhanaka),[86] and mud carriers (mrittikavahaka),[87] Out of these professions, only those of wheel-wright and carriage builders (rathakara)[88] are noticed in early Buddhist literature, along with barbers, leather workers and weavers, as also potters and basket makers, classed as low professions (hina-sippa).

Workers in Metal :

These included blacksmiths (karmara) or lohakara,[89] needle makers (suchikara),[90] goldsmiths (suvarnakara),[91] copper-smiths (tamrakuttaka),[92] workers in glass and lead (sisakara),[93] workers in tin (tipukara), brass (thattakara),[94] carvers in ivory (dantakara) and workers in iron (ayakara). The inscriptions of the Kushana period as well mention iron mongers (lohavarna, lohakara).[95] Caste did not determine the craft of the person.[96] One inscription refers to a jeweller (manikara) giving his daughter in marriage to the son of a blacksmith. The blacksmiths who had their own guild during the period of the Jatakas[97] were expected to be skilled in all arts (maha-prajna sarva silpehi abhino), according to the Mahavastu.[98] They as well manufactured needles (karmara vo saknoti suchi-api kartum)[99] and also trained apprentices (karmaram-antevasin)[100]

The hiranyakara of a Mathura record synonymous with the suvarnakara of Asvaghosha's Kavyas and the Mahavastu and Sovanika of inscriptions was a goldsmith who manufactured ornaments in gold. The Lalitavistara[101] refers to a skilful goldsmith meeting the

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requirements of many people. Gold was purified and the process of doing so is described by Asvaghosha.[102] Workers in different kinds of metals suggest tendency towards specialisation of professional interests. Fine ivory workers (chunda) and carvers (dantakara) also participated in the economic life of the time. Vidisa was famous for its ivory workers.[103]

Artisans :

The term panchakaruki[104] of the earlier times is not noticed in records or in the literature of this period. These, according to Uddyota, included potters (kulala), carpenter (vardhaki), artificer or blacksmith (karmara), barber (napita) and washerman (rajaka). These professions are individually mentioned in inscriptions and literature. Potter (kulala) or kumbhakara is noticed in several Sanskrit Buddhist works.[105] The Lalitavistara also refers to the movement of potter's wheel (kumbhakarachakram),[106] while the Mahavastu[107] describes the process of making vessel.[108] A Nasik inscription mentions another term kulalrika (from kulala) for potters and their formation of a guild.[109] The Divyavadana uses the term ghaṭkara for a potter.[110] Vardhaki or carpenter also occurs in the Mahavastu and in a few records[111] with slightly different spellings - vaddhakam, vadakin or vadhai.[112] They too had a guild in earlier times, and were placed in the group of low professions (hina-sippas). Besides the blacksmiths (lohakaras) and bronze-utensil makers (thattakaras) mentioned earlier in the group of workers in metal, the Divyavadana[113] notices another class of artisans named silpikara. The stone masons (selarupakara - Skt. Sailarupakara) are mentioned in an inscription from Mathura,[114] which place was noted for its skilful workers in stone-sculpture who were invited to other places for carving

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statues, as for instance Sivamitra was invited at Sravasti.

Wild and Low Professions :

This professional group of hunters (lubdhaka)[115], snake charmers (atitundikas)[116], dealers in bark of trees (valkalavanija)[117], bamboo workers (vena)[118] was categorised as low class. Corpse burners (chavadahaka)[119], deer stalkers (magavikas)[120], fishermen (batisakas)[121], wood-cutters (tacchakas - kashtaharakas, according to the Divyavadana[122], fowlers or bird catchers (sakunikas)[123], pig-dealers (saukarikas)[124], and ferry carriers (nishadas)[125] were also included in this category. Some of these professions are also noticed in earlier texts.[126] According to the Mahavastu[127], the bird catchers used to feed the entrapped ones carefully, and then sold them at a high price.

The Buddhist literature of the period as well refers to a number of low professions, unfit for a Buddhist congregation or preaching by monks.[128] These included those of washermen (dhovakas), dyers (rajakas), dye manufacturers (rangakarakas), barbers (kshura-vritthi)[129] or kappaka,[130] leather dealers (charmakara), ferrymen (navika)[131], gold cleaners (suvarnadhovaka), rope makers (rajjukaras), comb makers (kocchakaras), bow manufacturers (dhanukarakas), arrow fletchers (usukaras), weavers (tantuvayakas) or pesakaras), grass cutters (tinaharakas) and dealers in strong drinks (majjikas).[132] The inscriptions, however, take notice of only a few of these professions, such as barbers (napitas)[133] and washermen or dyers (rayaga - rajakas).[134] The contemporary literature as well provides some interesting information such as the process of making rope from munja or hemp[135] or dyer staining the cloth.[136] The word dhovaka not noticed in early literature distinguishes washerman from a dyer (rajaka).

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Labourers and Attendants :

The attendant class included gardeners (aramikas)[137], cooks (supakaras or sudas)[138], menial servants (dasi-dasakarmakaras)[139], door-keepers (duarapalas)[140], bathing attendants (nahapakas)[141], slave girls bringing water from the wells (kumbhadasis)[142], female warders (kanchukis)[143] labourers (paurusheyas)[144], and hired workmen (bhatakas)[145]. The female attendants in the household prepared cosmetics and toilet for their mistress and her lord.[146] Servants engaged for inferior type of work were paid double wages (dviqunam vetanam)[147]. Chef's duties were equally important and a proficient one had young boys attached to him (sudantevasi)[148] for practical training.[149] The term vishti, meaning 'forced' or 'bonded labour' is suggestive of exploitation of the needy people eager for work.

Entertainers and Others :

The entertainment class included play actors and actresses (nata-nati), dancers (nacchataka Skt. nrityaka), acrobates (langhaka), conjurors (indajalika) and prostitutes (ganikas)[150]. As a mobile profession, the entertainers freely moved from one place to another. The Mahavastu[151] refers to a group of dancers proceeding from Takshasila to Varanasi. An inscription from Mathura[152] refers to a troup of actors (sailalakas). Play acting was confined to certain families.

Professions relating to communication :

People engaged in this profession manned vehicular traffic or piloted ships and boats in high sea or turbulent rivers. A good guide (sudesika)[153] was expected to know all about the road and traffic matters while proceeding with the caravan traders. Besides the guide, there were carters (sakatikas)[154] and charioteers (sarthins).[155] The navy personnel on board the ship consisted

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of the pilot (niyyamaka)[156] and the sailor (kammakara).[157] The former was supposed to know all about the sea routes and weather conditions. He also put on his seal (muddikam - mudrikam)[158] on the steering wheel to ensure its proper handling. The sailor (kammakara)[159] was a hireling working for wages on board the ship. The navika or boatman was needed in river traffic.

Literary Men :

Persons depending on their learning and skill included writers (pustakakaraka),[160] physicians (bhishaj) and surgeons (salya-chikitsaka), Painters (Chitrakara)[161] are as well mentioned. Asvaghosha refers to a painter falling in love with his creative art. Medicine and surgery had fairly advanced in this period in view of the contributions of Charaka and Sushruta, as also the find of Medicinal texts in Central Asia.

Land and its Economy :

Political upheavals and disturbances in no way impaired the functioning of agricultural economy. Of course nature did impose devastation and misery with the failure of monsoon. The arable land (khettasamani),[162] fit for cultivation, was free from pits, precipices and sewers.[163] The ploughmen, known as karsha or karshaka removed the soil weeds, thorns, and stone in his land before its ploughing (kasitva). This was followed by sowing (vapitva irrigating (udakam payesetva), fencing (rakkhitva), watching (gopetva), reaping the standing crop (lavana) and finally threshing it (maddanena), to make it a good crop (bahudhannakohoti).[164] Seeds were sown according to particular crops (yathaphala viseshartham vijam vapati karshakah).[165] The fertility of land was no doubt the prime consideration for the agriculturist,[166] but this too needed adequate supply of water, for which irrigational canals

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were constructed. Rice fields were inundated through these canals (matika).[167] The output in rice cultivation greatly depended on the type of seed as well as on the labour involved in it,[168] which took about five to six months. However, a corn called kumudabhandika ripened quickly.[170] The Milindapanha describes the process of reaping barley. It was grasped by the farmer into a bunch, and was cut by the sickle (dattena) in right hand. Land economy involving hard labour did not provide adequate return. According to Asvaghosha, people toiled in agriculture and other works but their sufferings did not end.[171] They had to supplement their economy with cattle rearing. The herdsman called gopa looked after the scattered cows while they were grazing in forests.[172] In the way these cattles were restrained from entering the field and damaging the standing crop (sasya) which they were eager to grap.[173] The milking time of cows is noticed by Asvaghosa.[174]

Famine and Rationing :

An unusual situation sometimes arose with the failure of monsoon, resulting in drought and the limited stock of foodgrain available for disposal among the people. As such, there were famines of which three kinds are mentioned in the Divyavadana[175] - namely chanchu, svetasthi and salakavritti. In the first situation people were kept alive on grains collected in a box for the pacification of the dead. In the second one - svetasthi - bones were boiled and the soup thus prepared was drunk by the famished lot. The last one - salakavritti - involved the collection of grains and molasses deposited in holes with sticks and boiling these in good quantity of water. The soup was prepared for drinking. People had to search for grain in every nook and corner and sometimes took resort to cannibalism as pointed out by Asvaghosha.[176] In this

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state of calamity, the State took the first step of collecting the food stuff (annadyani sainhritya) which was deposited in the granary in every village, city and town. The next step was the equitable distribution of the available stock (samain bhaktakara). The Census Officer (ganitakusala) and the one incharge of the granary (koshtagarika) had to work in cooperation in this task. The rationing process is described in the Avadansataka[177] and the unit per person was fixed at one kudava per day (divase divase) per head. The ruler had a double share (rajno duav kuvado). The Divyavadana,[178] however, mentions one manika per unit. The two terms denoted an equal quantity of food per unit which was one-fourth of a prastha and one sixteenth of an adhaka - equivalent to eight ounces.[179] An unaccounted person had the additional share of the ruler. The information available from contemporary literature need not be taken as presumptive but something real, since Kautilya also refers[180] to equitable distribution of food stuff. (bhaktasamvibhagam).

Medium of Exchange and Barter :

The two terms parivartana[181] - meaning exchange and niminitva[182] or vissajjeyya[183] suggesting barter, point to a developed and planned economic life. The Saddharma-Pundarika[184] mentions a traveller on a visit to a big city and exchanging a gem for money to meet his requirements. The Divyavadana[185] also refers to merchandise in exchange (pratipanya). Money no doubt was the medium of transaction and three kinds of coins are mentioned in literature : dinara, purana and karshapana. The first one is noticed in the Divyavadana and the Avadanasataka.[186] The second one purana is mentioned in the Mathura inscription[187] of the time of Huvishka of the year 28 recording dedication of 550 Puranas[188]

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each in two guilds as permanent deposit. As a silver coin, the purana is also mentioned in the Mahavastu.[189] A purana, according to Manu,[190] was equivalent to 10 panas of couries or mashas. The copper coins known as karshapana are also mentioned in literature[191] and so also golden pieces (suvarnapitaka),[192] but it is difficult to suggest if the term signified the dinara or gold pieces of unequal denomination. The Kushana issued gold and copper coins which have been found in good number and are of different types. There are of course few silver coins associated with the Kushanas. Probably this metal was not found to be of greater use in business transactions or was not available in fairly good quantity.

Weights and Measures :

A solitary inscription[193] from Mathura mentions three terms denoting weights - adhaka, prastha and ghataka, which were current in earlier times as well. Adhaka[194] was a measure of grain equivalent to ¼ karsha = 4096 mashas or nearly 7 lbs. , 11 ozes. Prastha[195] was ¼ of an adhaka, while ghataka[196] was equivalent to 4 adhakas or one drona. The Divyavadana mentions at least four terms - anjali,[197] manika,[198] vilvamatram[199] and pravedha.[200] Anjali was a measure of grain equivalent to a kudava[201] viz. one-fourth of a prastha and containing 12 handfuls. Manika equalled[202] 8 palas or 2 kudavas or sarava. Vilva[203] was a particular weight equivalent to a pada or ¼ kudava. Certain terms of measurement are also given in literature - angula, vyama and yojana.[204] Angula denoted a finger's breadth (equivalent to 8 barley corns) ; 12 angulas making a vitasi and 24 a hasta or cubit[205] = 18 inches. Vyama was the measure of two extended terms = 5 aratnis.[206] Yojana was the longest measure of distance equiva-

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lent to two krosha or eight to nine miles.[207] The distance between Sravasti and Sopara given in the Divyavadana[208] was only a hundred yojanas (yojanasatam). The Milindapanha mentions another term ammana (Skt. armana) - a measure of capacity.[210] The same work also refers to false weights (tulakuta)[211] of which even the touch was forbidden. It appears that weights and measures current in the Kushana period were actually those handed down from earlier times.

Lines and Means of Communication :

The most common land routes were between Madhyadesa cities and those in the north-west as also with the south and south-west. Sravasti was connected with Sopara[212] and Takshasila (Taxila) with Kasi.[213] The Avadanasataka[214] refers to traders going to the south from Madhyadesa and in the east Utkala[215] and Kalinga[216] were not out of bounds for them. The Milindapanha[217] notices distant places and areas like the land of the Scythians and the Greeks, as also China, Tartary, Alexandria and Nikumba. The internal lines of communication covered not only the country but extended as far as Balkh and Khotan,[218] joining the famous silk trade route between China and Rome. The means of communication for longer distances were camels, while Asvaghosha refers to chariots yoked with little oxen. The Milindapanha[219] notices charioteers (sarathins), coach-men driving horses were known as assadamma - sarathi, although the term could as well mean a horse trainer.[220] Boats (plava)[221] were available for river traffic while the bigger ones were used for moving in high seas.[222] These were sometime wrecked. The Mahavastu refers to transhipment of goods from the ship to a boat and in this process bales sometimes fell into the sea (potalika samudre patita).

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Trade and Commerce :

India's richness in mineral resources accounted for her success in foreign markets. Pliny calls[224] India the sole mother of precious stones , the great product of the most costly gens. 'There was no year in which India did not drain the Roman empire of a hundred million sesosteres, so dear, writes Pliny, 'do we pay for luxury and our women'. Besides the richness in mineral resources, political and cultural relations were to a great extent responsible for bringing about commercial harmony between India and the western world. From the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian, i.e. from B.C. 30 - A.D. 550, the contact between India and Rome was a matter of highest importance.[225] The finds of Roman coins in South India led Sewell to presume[226] that the culmination of trade between India and Rome had reached during the time of Augustus, and it continued upto A.D. 65, the time of Nero. It was during this period that India supplied articles of luxury to Rome for which they had to pay handsomely. Pliny's note of caution might have caused some change in the minds of the people. It was further proposed by Sewell that the paucity of finds of Roman coins in Southern India of later times was the result of the change of social conditions of Rome itself rather than due to any political reason. This contention of Sewell was challenged by Warmington[227] who claimed that there was hardly any confirmation of the fact that the Indian traffic grew less, or that the upper classes desisted from their extravagant tastes and the use of items of luxuries for a long time. He further stated that there was nothing to doubt that constant activity of Roman's commerce with the East even from the accounts of the writers who had no special occasion to mention about India.

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The classical writings notice articles of import to Rome from India and vice-versa. According to the Periplus,[228] these included pepper, ginger and articles of luxury of which there was a great demand, such as silk, muslin and cotton fabrics. So also the precious stones, pearls and minerals figured in that list. The Indian ports at Barbaricum at the mouth of the Indus and Barygaze (Broach) were the important centres for import and export trade. The imported items in these ports included thin clothing, coral, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold, copper tin, led sweet clover, little ointment, singing boys and beautiful maidens for the harem along with fine wines etc. This anonymous writer as well mentions articles of export from India including costus, bdelluim, lycium, turquise, lapizlazuli, serics, skins, cotton cloth, silk, yarn, and indigo. Ivory, agate and cosmelian, muslin, long pepper and silk cloth were brought from different parts of the country and exported from Barygaze or Broach.

This information relating to trade and its nature and volume, is equally supplemented by that from the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of the time. The commencement of any sea voyage for trade purpose was announced with the blowing of the gong (ghantava-ghoshanam), extending invitation to others interested in foreign trade with their articles of merchandise, free of cost and exempted from ferry dues or fares. (sardham = asulkena tarpanyena). The response was very encouraging and as many as five hundred merchants turned up for going overseas (mahasamudra gamaniyan). When a merchant named Purana extended his invitation, some merchants from Sravasti[229] joined him. Balasena of Vasavagrama, accompanied by merchants covered the inland journey from his home town carrying

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plenty of merchandise in carts (sakataih), loads (bharaih), bundles (gopaih) and asses (gardabhaih).[230] These texts as well record some trade conventions. The deposits of earnest money (avadranga) - generally one-sixth, was necessary at the time of entering the deal after the buyer had put in his seal on the goods involved in the transaction (svamudra lakshitam kritva).[231] Bulk trading was discouraged to avoid individual monopoly. Any breach of trade norms (kriyakara) by individual members was reported to the merchant guild for proper action. The absence of any member for want of proper notice to him or his brother (na sabdito mama bhrata va)[232] was taken as an excuse for working against the resolution of the corporate body in that particular matter. This spirit in commercial enterprises and trade relations was meant to avoid hoarding or glutting of the stocks with any person who aimed at regulating the price to suit his convenience and interests.

A review of the economic life in the Kushana period has been made in the context of trade guilds, economic avocations of diverse interests, land economy in all aspects, trade and commerce - both internal and external, free flow of money for purposes of exchange, adequate means of communications ensuring security and safety and trading norms and regulations. There appeared to be brisk trade between India and the western world as reported by classical writers with India enjoying a favourable balance of trade. Indian traders as well contributed in the famous silk trade between China and Roma. This aspect demands a study of Central Asian Economy in all aspects.

Central Asian Economy :

The Central Asian economic structure was based on the

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land economy, cattle rearing and a few productive avocations. The State was no doubt the owner of land with the people of upper strata (no. 120) enjoying it on payment of rent in accordance with seasonal crops. The land was cultivated with the help of hired labourers and slaves, who were provided with salary, food and clothing[233] (no. 25). Wages had to be paid (no. 50) although disputes on this account were not unknown. Slave women too were not denied these perquisites, though they were vendible (no. 591).[234] The value of a male slave recorded was in terms of a five year old camel, a horse of the same age and 25 altga (not known). A slave could be pledged, exchanged and utilised as desired by his master, but he had the right to acquire property through his savings[235] (no. 671) and was free to alienate[236] it (no. 419). This right extended to female slaves as well. The use of violence against working women[237] (nos. 20, 29, 53) and appropriation of their land produce was not unknown[238] (no. 30). The master was not responsible for the debts of his slave. The arable one was called nishi[239] (no. 572) while the barren was known as akri. The ploughing (krishitan-krishnata) and sowing (babitaya - vapaitya) operations are equally recorded[240] (no.320). There is no reference to reaping and winnowing process in any record, but the one to barn house (gothada)[241] (no. 36) being used for storing reflects the entire agricultural process being conducted before the storage of grain. The amount of seed required in a measured plot of land is also mentioned in several inscriptions[242] and the price of land was accordingly determined and paid in kind or through barter.[243] There is no reference to cash payment. One inscription[244] notices collective farming, since the land in dispute was returned to the village.

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The information relating to agricultural land and irrigational facilities is equally available from the archaeological source material supplementing or confirming the facts recording irrigational details provided by the inscriptions. The documents mention irrigation of fields by the labourer called chum-pa in contrast to the ordinary one called zhing-pa.[245] The wheat crop (gana - godhuma) needed at least two-three waters.[246] Canals carried water to distant areas needing it urgently against payment to be made.[247] One record notices payments for seeds as well as for water[248] which was not to be misappropriated or allowed to go waste.[249] Further, the person watering his land was restrained from allowing the water to move into the neighbour's land, and the farm house attached to it.[250] Moreover, the seeds borrowed had to be returned with interest[251] or in double the quantity lent.[252] Land disputes were fairly common.[253] There are also references to State farms[254] and also to the collection of revenue - one-third of the produce[255] through the state agency[256] every year.[257] Late realisation of revenue did involve imposition of interest.[258] There is as well a reference to famine in a record.[259] The drought in this particular case compelled the owner to sell his vineyard to the scribe just for a carpet (tavastaga) six feet long, one kavaji, two sheep and one milma of corn. The ownership of land was unfettered with the right to plough, to exchange, to sell or to mortgage it.[260] (nos. 586, 587). Slaves and women were not denied the right of alienation of their land[261] (nos. 574, 677). The settlement of land disputes necessitated affirmation of claim on oath by witnesses on behalf of the contesting parties.[262] Sometimes the disputed land was entrusted to the care of some minor official. He could as well hold it for failure to pay state dues.[263] (no.278).

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Archaeological excavations in Central Asia[264] brought to light evidence of land economy with expansion of agricultural oases, especially in the southern regions. Irrigation net works were developed to bring in a large area under cultivation. In the Surkhan Daryar Province more than a hundred archaeological sites revealed evidence of occupation and utilisation of land for producing crops both cereals and fruit ones. The Zang canal was traced leading from the Surkhan Darya covering new oases, and providing water to the Surkhan River and Shhabad River valley. Traces of irrigation system of the Kushana period were found in the uppli Zerafshar, Kafirnigan and Vakhsh River valleys in Tajikistan. Traces of irrigation and the expansion of irrigated land areas in Central Asia during the Kushan period were found in the land along the lower reaches of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya.

Agricultural growth was primarily due to the rapid expansion of irrigation bringing more areas under cultivation as also resulting in highly diversified crops production. Besides cereals (millet, barley and wheat, fruit crops - apricots, plums, grapes, melons etc, industrial crop, poppy seeds), seasame seeds and cotton were also produced. Crop farming was combined with live stock breeding, playing an important role in the economic life of the people. Draught animals like camel, sheep, horse, were used for agriculture and transport, milk and allied products for nutrition, and wool, cotton and hides for handicrafts. There was considerable increase in handicraft production. Archaeological evidence reveals large quantities of ceramic products. There were also craftsmen producing metalware and moulds of various shapes for casting metal objects were found, including weapons such as daggers, spears, battle axes, bows and arrows. Metal

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ores, semi-precious and precious stones etc. were equally mixed along with gold, silver and iron.

Both external and internal trade and commerce flourished in the Kushan period. Items of trade included products of handicraft and agriculture as also consumer goods and articles of luxury. Cereals, fruit, textile, pottery, timber etc. formed items of regular and extensive internal trade within regions of Central Asia. The main trans. Asian trade routes passing through Central Asia. There was overland trade with India as well which passed through Taxila and Peshawar (Parshawar) and along the Kabul River valley into Bactria. The Silk Route from China to the Mediterranean countries was linked with India through Bactria to Baryagaza (Broach). The main Silk Route began at Changan, the then capital of China and passed through Lang-Chou to Tun-huang. Here the route was divided into two - the Northern one passing in a straight line through Turfan, and Chiu-tzu into Akshi, and from Kashgar to Ferghana via Samarkand and to Antioch in Margiana. The Southern Route covered Khotan and Yarkand reaching the capital of Bactria and then to Zariaspa and Antioch in Margiana. The two routes joined here on way to Hecetomphylos, the ancient capital of Parthia and thence to Media, Ecbatana and Mesopotamia and across to Euphretes to the ancient ports on the Mediterranean. The caravan trade was guided by Sogdians or Bactrians who knew the way and avoided difficult stretches on the Route, such as the sand-dunes of the white Dragon-Salt desert, which at one time was part of the Lop-Nor Lake bed. There was great competititon among traders and intermediaries and Parthian merchants tried to prevent direct trade relations between Rome

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and China. The Kushan merchants as well competed with the Parthians as trade agents. The political stability in the Kushan period with an extensive empire facilitated international trade. The main items of export from India were spices, particularly pepper, ginger, betel and saffron, perfumes and medicines, spikenard, musk, cinnabar, also (bdellium) lacquers and dyes, silk, rice, sugar, sesame, cotton, precious woods - teak, sandalwood, ebony, pearls, precious and semi-precious stones, ivory, and exotic animals. The Indian imports included metals (gold, silver) and non-ferous metal (copper, tin, lead, antimony), horses, purple, coral, wine, slaves and artistic pottery and glassware. According to a report by Pliny, the Elder[265] (2nd half of the first century A.D.), the value of imports into India, East Turkestan and Arabia totalled 100 million sesterces. Some of these were no doubt imported from Central Asia. There was of course brisk trade with the western world, Bactrian merchants were reported to be visting the confines of the Roman Empire, particularly Alexandria in Egypt, and Roman merchants as well visited Central Asia where a large number of Roman objects and swords were found.

So also Central Asia had intensive trade with China. Luxury items were the main ones of trade and the Sogdians played an important role in the development of trade links with China. In Tun-huang, letters in the Sogdian language were found, dating back to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (or to the end of the second century A.D.). One of these refers to 100 freemen from Samarkand living in Tun-huang, though the total

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number of Sogdians is estimated at 1,000. Several letters contain information on merchandise, trade, prices etc. with their homeland in Samarkand. At the diplomatic level too there were exchanges of gifts and presentation of indigenous goods of fine quality. The Mahabharata refers to presents brought to Yudhisthira from Vahlika (Bactria) consisting of woollen blankets, beautifully dyed and pleasant to touch, various kinds of fabrics, sheep skins, weapons and precious stones. The gifts from the Sakas and Tokharias (Tochari) were good breed horses capable of covering long distances.

Central Asian Handicrafts and Other Industries :

The inscriptions from Niya, Loulon and other connecting areas as well mention industrial arts and connected economic avocations. The makers of gold and silver ornaments were quite conspicuous[266] (no. 578). Wooden tablets - recorded and painted - found in excavations are suggestive of workers in wood, as also painters and sculptors. Leather goods, especially long boots, noticed on Kushan statues, point to this professional class of workers. Weavers and tailors looked at the cloth industry and the making of garments. Silk industry was equally flourishing. The famous scene of a Chinese princess secretly bringing silk cocosus to Khotan Central Asia sheds light on the introduction and subsequent development of this industry.[267] One inscription[268] (no. 566) mentions gown (lastuga) being made of coloured silk. The finds of paintings on silk,[269] as also silken fabrics with weaves and designs and embroidered nature point to the skill of silken weavers. This industry with its long history also gave its name to the trade route between China and Persia.[270] The local indus-

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tries included manufacture of other necessary items of use, including utensils, shoes, comb and mirror which are mentioned in inscriptions and were also found in excavations. Aurel Stein in his Report mentions several kinds of shoes made of leather, cotton, wool and hemp. The prominent ones being long boots with straps.[271] The use of comb and mirror is recorded in an inscription[272] (no. 566) and both were traced in excavations. The Kharoshthi records notice a term thavastaye[273] (no. 43) meaning 'carpet' and thavastaye[274] (no. 714) a cloth carpet. This region of Central Asia was noted for carpet making and these were also exported from here. So also rolls of silk formed items of both import and export. Pata is the word for s-ilk used in making clothes. Its rolls as well served in barter transactions. One record[275] (no.3) notices a woman's price in terms of 41 rolls of silk, and another[276] (no. 489) imposes a fine of a roll of silk for breach of monastic order rules like non-participation in the prostha or joining it in the dress of a house-holder.

There were also dealers in items of food and drinks. Several records[277] (nos. 175, 244, 317 etc.) notice wine and its trade with other countries. The vineyards supplied grapes for processing and the industry had the support of the administration. It was also accepted in lieu of tax[278] (no. 206) and was sometimes misappropriated by tax collectors.[279] (no. 272). The selling of wine was a regular business[280] (no. 247). The administration as well looked after dairy farms. An inscription[281] (no.314) refers to State cows probably suggesting public sector enterprises in ghee and oil. An officer called 'Satavida' looked after it. One record[282] (no. 621) notices Kulala or Kutala, a potter who manufactured clay utensils and tablets. Big jars made of clay

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were used for storage of grains.

Medium of Exchange :

The use of gold and gold ornaments have been noticed earlier. The reference to Suvarnasatera - corresponding to Greek Strateres - Stater points to good coins in circulation, probably the Kushan ones, in external trade. The internal trade was mostly done through barter or commodities and animals used in exchange. One inscription[283] (no. 586) records despatch of cows in exchange for some commodities purchased.[284] Another record (no. 180) mentions 6 regal camels probably received in trade transaction. There are many references to land deals in terms of barter and exchange with productive animals like cows, sheep, camels and horses. Some type of coins were also in use as is evident from references in inscription[285] (nos. 43). These are sadera[286] - stater, trasya, muli, kampomasa, ghare, mamaka. A stater and two trakhma - drachm was the price of a slave[287] (no.324) while a stater could bring a vineyard[288] (no. 419) - a very cheap deal. Another record[289] notices sugar worth 4 sadera and pepper costing 2 trachma - drachm. These coins seemed to have reached Khotan area through trade. The ratio between gold and silver is noticed in a Tibetan document as ½ zho of gold = 3 zho of silver. Another term mentioned in a Kharoshthi record[290] called Kampo along with the golden sadera, suggests that the former was some kind of silver denomination. Several records[291] mention the Indian terms masa (masha), which was of small denomination since its figures recorded are 8000, 2800 & 2500. Ghaṇe[292] might have been a quarter of drachm or four times the value of a kaṇshapana[293] as supposed by some scholars. Muli noticed in two records, corresponding to

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mulya or value, was the twelfth part of a sadena - stater, since a carpet is valued in both the denominations. Another term manaka is supposed to denote some coin as Tita - Titus; The painter was paid 300 in this denomination for his work.[294]

There are also references to several terms relating to weights and measures in inscriptions[295] (nos. 25, 98, 162). Khi and milima were primarily used for weighing purpose. Their ratio was 20:1. One record[296] refers to a person taking 3 khi of wine and another mentions 30 khi of seed being needed in a plot of land for sowing purpose. Salary as well as taxes were paid in this denomination. The load prescribed for a camel to carry was prescribed in weight - 3 milima. One record[297] associates another term chasaga with khi. The former might correspond to Sanskrit Chashaka. Sometimes a drinking bowl was used for measuring liquid things like ghee. Another term sparna connoted measurement of suki wine[298] (no. 169). It was smaller than khi. Other terms relating to weights and measures were Vachari (nos. 159, 214, 295), a kind of measuring pot, prastha[300] (no. 721) corresponding to the Indian prastha. Hasta[301] was another Indian term - for measuring lengths of carpets. Height was measured in dithi[302] - Sanskrit dishti. Kuthala[303] and misi[304] were used in land measuring.

Labour and Transport :

A labourer was entitled to his wages in kind including food and clothing[305] (no. 50). There could be labour disputes as well,[306] since exploitation of labour was not unknown. Labourers and slaves formed the team of workers[307] (nos. 20, 29, 53) and they were entitled to keep their earnings with them or invest these in land[308] (no. 677). There are also references to bonded labour

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for a stipulated period of ten to twelve years[309] (nos. 364, 550). A slave price is recorded as 25 alta along with a five year old camel and a horse of the same age[310] (no. 591). While mobility of labour was possible at the command of the master or in exchange[311] (nos. 324, 491), one record prohibits immigration as also over-crowding of labour in the city.[312] The transport facilities were no doubt available depending on the routes and the environment. Reference has no doubt been made to trade routes, particularly the 'Silk Trade Route' with its different stop overs on the northern side as also on the southern one. The northern route passed through Hani, Turfan, Karasahr, Kucha, Akshi, Tumshuk, Kashagar to Samarkand. The southern one was via Miran, Cherchen, Keriya, Khotan and Yarkand to Herat and Kabul. The means of transport were no doubt camels and horses which were available on hire.[313] Any harm done to the animal constituted an offence involving payment of compensation to its owner by the hiring party. The rates for hiring transport camels and mules were no doubt fixed by the State.[314] Escorts were provided on certain routes.[315] The State seems to have maintained camels for transport[316] and the local officials were forbidden to use them for their families.[317]

The land economy in the Kushana period appeared to be in a flourishing stage with large areas brought under cultivation. An extensive project of irrigation was created in the river valleys as also in rugged mountain terrain where it was difficult to select a site for the head of a canal to be fed by a mountain river. Irrigational facilities made available in the river valleys and agricultural oases of Central Asia thus played an important

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role in the economic life of the people. Crop farming with improved methods and use of iron implements helped in bringing more land under the iron plough. Orchards, vineyards, sheep breeding and trade across the natural boundaries as well contributed towards the prosperity of the area and its people. The feudal social set-up based on vocational status and economic division seems to have cast its shadow on the Buddhist order as well. There are references in Kharoshthi records to monks owning lands and keeping slaves and also entering into matrimony. Rural economy was accordingly planned with the upper crust of society and the bureaucracy managing their farms with the help of labourers and slaves, paid and provided for by them. Some slaves could manage to set up their own farms and vineyards. Artisans and workers contributed to the national economy in their own way. The material finds at places explored and excavated in different sectors of Central Asia reveal a high standard of socio-economic life of the people. The material prosperity was equally helpful in the display of artistic activities as also religious and literary developments. The vast mass of Buddhist literature and centres of art and architecture traced in these areas, particularly on the trade route centres, are reminicent of the prosperity of the people and the affluence of the trading class which patronised them.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The Jatakas mention eighteen guilds - seni) but only four are specially mentioned (Jat. I. 267, 314 ; III. 281 ; IV.411; VI. 22.) These were first noticed by Mrs. C.A.F.Rhys Davids in her Papers Economic Conditions in Ancient India Economic Journal, Sept. 1901. Notes on early economic conditions in Northern India. JRAS. Oct. 1901 ; Rays Davids. Buddhist India. Chapter VI.
2. III. p. 442. 8 ff
3. Luder's list Nos. 1133, 1137, 1162, 1165, 1180.
4. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.
5. Vin. IV. 250.
6. Luders List Nos. 1133
7. ibid. No. 1137
8. EI. VIII. p. 89 No. 15.
9. Luder's List No. 1180.
10. ibid. No. 1165
11. ASWI. IV. No. 27 p. 99
12. EI. I. p. 381. Nos. 1 & 2
13. IV. 226.
14. Op.cit.
15. Mah. I. p. 131 ; Div. p. 110
16. AS. XLVI. p. 261.
17. ibid. XXIII. p. 129
18. Sad.Pun. IV. 15.
19. Mil. p. 331 ; Mah. III. p. 443 ; Div. p. 501.
20. Sad.Pun. IV. 7.
21. p. 365
22. ibid. p. 32
23. ibid. p. 262.11.
24. Lalit. XV. p. 215
25. Div. p. 505.8

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26. ibid. p. 173.5

27. ibid. p. 33.1

28. JUPHS. July. 1939. p. 24 No. XIV.

29. Saun. XVIII. 50

30. EI. p. 395. No. XXIX.

31. Mah. III. p. 161.13.

32. Saun. V. 40

33. XV. p. 207.21

34. Saun. XVIII. 50

35. Sad.Pun. VII. 187

36. p. 195.29

37. ibid. 194.24

38. Mah. II. p. 66

39. AS. LXXXVII. p. 103

40. p. 17

41. AS. XXII. p. 129.6

42. Div. p. 34

43. III. p. 286

44. II. p. 86

45. Saun. II. 52

46. Budh. Ch. I. 21

47. Mil. pp. 378, 399

48. Saun. IV. 44

49. Div. p. 92.27

50. Div. pp. 35.22 ; 41.27

51. p. 359

52. Mil. p. 262.

53. Mah. II. p. 473

54. Mil. p. 262

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55. ibid. p. 2010

56. Mah. III. p. 54 ; Mil. p. 262.

57. Mil. pp. 291, 331.

58. Rhys Davids. Buddhist India. p. 93.

59. EI. I. p. 385 ; II. p. 203. No. XV ; Vogel. Cat. p. 62 ; Luders List No. 76.

60. EI. I. p. 383 No. IV.

61. Luder's List Nos. 1210, 1230.

62. ibid No. 1187

63. Book XXXVIII.

64. Saun. XVIII. 46

65. Sad. Pun. VI. p. 51 ; Mil. p. 118 ; Mah. I. p. 194.

66. Saun. VI. 31.

67. ASWI. V. p. 79

68. McCrindle : Ancient India. p. 129.

69. Luder's Lis t No. 1051, 1061.

70. VII. p. 36

71. Mah. III. p. 442 ; EI. XXI. p. 55.

72. Mil. p. 331.

73. ibid. p. 412-23

74. ibid. p. 337

75. Mah. III. p. 442.

76. Div. p. 500. 23.

77. As. XXXVI. p. 98

78. Div. p. 500.20

79. Mil. p. 201.

80. ibid. p. 331.

81. Mah. II. pp. 465.6

82. ibid. p. 477.3

83. Luder's List No. 1137.

84. Mil. p. 331.

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85. Div. p. 70.29

86. Mah. III. p. 442.

87. Lalit. VI. p. 63.

88. Vinaya. IV. 6.10

89. Mah. II. p. 83 ; III. p. 442 ; Mil. p. 33

90. Mah. II. p. 88.

91. ibid. II. p. 471 ; Lalit. VI. p. 63 ; Saun. XVI. 65.

92. Mah. III. p. 442 ; Mil. p. 174.

93. Mil. p. 331

94. ibid.

95. Luder's List Nos. 29, 51, 54

96. EI. I. p. 381 No. I.

97. VI. 427.

98. I. p. 87

99. ibid 1243

100. EI. II. p. 105

101. p. 63.12

102. Saun. XVI. 65

103. EI. II. p. 92. The ivory makers of Varanasi are noticed earlier in the Jatakas. I. 320 ; II. 197.

104. Mahabhashya I. 1.48 p.

105. Mah. I. p. 319 ; Sad.Pun. p. 132 ; Lalit. XV. p. 201.

106. Lalit. XV. p. 207.15.

107. I. p. 327.

108. Luder's List No. 1137

109. p. 512.15

110. III. p. 442

111. EI. X. p. 111. No. 4 ; Luder's List No. 195, 1092.

112. VI. 427

113- p. 522.9

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114. ASI. An. Rep. 1908.9 p. 181

115. Mah. I p. 94.10 ; Div. p. 137.12

116. Mah. I. p. 131.15.

117. ibid. III p. 442.

118. Mil. p. 331.

119. Vinaya. IV. 6.

120. Mil. p. 331.

121. ibid. p. 412.3.

122. ibid. p. 413.

123. p. 500.3.

124. Mah. p. 241.3

125. ibid.

126. ibid. p. 95.

127. II. p. 241.13.

128. Mah. II. p. 467.

129. Mil. p. 331.

130. Lalit. XV. p. 208.

131. Mah. III. p. 276.

132. Mil. p. 331.

133. JUPHS. 1937 p. 3 No. 3.

134. I.I.1 p. 384 No. V.

135. XIII. p. 176.7.

136. p. 365.13

137. AS, VUU, p, 2f.

138. Mah. II. p. 478 ; p. 63.

139. Sad.Pun. IV. p. 101.

140. Mil. p. 155.

141. ibid. p. 330.

142. ibid. p. 331.

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143. Lalit. XV. p. 196.

144. Sad.Pun. IV. p. 101.

145. Mil. p. 155.31.

146. Saun. IV. 26.

147. Sad.Pun. IV. p. 105.11.

148. p. 258.21.

149. Sad.Pun. III. 124-125.

150. Mil. p. 331.

151. II. p. 175.

152. EI. I. p. 390. No. xviii.

153. Bud.Car. I. 72.

154. Mil. p. 66.28.

155. Lalit. p. 379.17.

156. Mil. p. 378.

157. ibid. p. 379.19.

158. ibid. p. 378.

159. ibid. p. 379.17.

160. Mah. III. p. 442.

161. Mah. III. p. 442 ; Mil. p. 331 ; Lalit. VII. 119 ; Saun. XV. 39.

162. Mil. p. 354.6.

163. Sad.Pun. VI. p. 148.

164. Mil. p. 360.

165. Saun. XI. 27.

166. ibid. XII. 35.

167. Mil. p. 416.

168. ibid. 14.

169. ibid. p. 292.24.

170. ibid. p. 33.4

171. Saun. XVIII. 37.

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172. ibid. XIV. 41.

173. ibid. IX. 42.

174. ibid. XVI. 50.

175. p. 131 ff.

176. Saun. XIV. 13.

177. XXXIII. p. 175.

178. p. 293.16.

179. Monier Williams - Dictionary p. 289.

180. Arthasastra (Shammasastry p. 208).

181. Sadh.Pun. VIII. p. 211.

182. p. 279.

183. ibid. p. 41.21.

184. Sadh.Pun. VIII. p. 211.

185. pp. 193.5 ; 211.27.

186. p. 427.12.

187. LXXXVIII. II. p. 79.

188. EI. XXI. p. 55

189. II. p. 275.8.

190. VIII. 136.

191. Div. p. 128.8 ; As. XXXVI. 1. p. 198 ; Mil. p. 291.

192. XXXVI. p. 198.

193. EI. XXI. p. 55.

194. Monier Williams : Sanskrit-English Dictionary p. 134.

195. Sadh.Pun. IV. 108.

196. Monier Williams : Op. cit. p. 375.

197. p. 499.25.

198. p. 293.25.

199. p. 70.28

200. p. 56.17

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201. Monier Williams : Op.cit. p. 1

202. ibid. p. 806.

203. ibid. p. 732.

204. Mil. p. 82.

205. Monier Williams : Op.cit. p. 1294.

206. ibid. p. 1038.

207. ibid. p. 858.

208. p. 43.13

209. p. 102

210. Rhys David's & Stede : Pali Dictionary. p. 74.

211. p. 279.

212. Div. p. 42.

213. Mah. III. p. 442.

214. LXXXVIII. II. p. 103.

215. Mah. III. p. 303.

216. ibid. p. 361.

217. p. 327.28.9.

218. EI. XXI. 55.

219. p. 266.

220. Pali Dictionary. p. 90.

221. Saun. IV. 44.

222. Div. 101.1 ; Lalit. XV. p. 127.

223. II. p. 90.11-12.

224. Book XXXVIII c. 6(21) ; Mc Crindle : Ancient India. p. 130.

225. Bombay Gazetteer. III. p. 49.

226. JRAS. 1904. pp. 50 ff.

227. The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cam. 1928 p. 89.

228. Majumdar : Classical Accounts of India. p. 290 (See 6 ff).

229. AS. Vol. II. p. 16.

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230. Div. p. 5.

231. Div. p. 32.

232. ibid.

233. Burrow : Kharoshthi Documents - Op.cit. no. 25.

234. ibid. no. 591.

235. ibid. no. 671.

236. ibid. no. 419.

237. ibid. nos. 20, 29,53.

238. ibid. no. 36.

239. ibid no. 572. According to Aurel Stein misi was some crop. (Serindia. I. p. 232).

240. ibid. no. 320.

241. ibid. no. 36.

242. ibid. nos. 422, 519, 580.

243. ibid. no. 715.

244. ibid no. 366.

245. Stein : Serindia. p. 1464.

246. Documents - Op.cit. no. 72.

247. ibid. no. 368.

248. ibid. no. 160.

249. ibid. no. 502.

250. ibid. nos. 47, 125.

251. ibid. no. 140.

252. ibid. no. 144.

253. ibid. nos. 90, 124.

254. ibid. nos. 238, 272.

255. ibid. no. 291.

256. ibid. no. 198.

257. ibid. nos. 275, 295.

258. ibid. no. 211.

259. ibid. no. 581.

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260. ibid. nos. 586, 587.

261. ibid. nos. 574, 677.

262. ibid. nos. 90, 124.

263. ibid. no. 278.

264. See Alexander Belenitsky : Ancient Civilisation of Central Asia. London. 1969. Chapter III. See also Gafuurov (Ed). Central Asia in the Kushana Period. Moscow. 1975 ; Mukhamedzhanov : Economy and Social System in the Kushan Age - Chapter contributed in the UNESCO. Publication History of Civilization of Central Asia, Vol. II (Paris. 1994).

265. Pliny. XII. 8.

266. Kharoshthi Documents. Op.cit. no. 578.

267. Stein : Ancient Khotan. Op.cit - Op.cit. I. p. 229.

268. Kharosthi Documents. no. 566.

269. Stein : Innermost Asia. pp. 471 ff.

270. Ptoleny furnishes interesting information on the subject of silk trade from China during the first century A.D. (Geographia XI.7 ; XII.8. Sq. Stein records the importance of the trade route during the centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era (Innermost Asia. II. p. 848).

271. Serindia. II. 704, 719, 813 ; Ancient Khotan. p. 297.

272. Documents - Op.cit. no. 566.

273. ibid. no. 431.

274. ibid. no. 714 ; Bailey. BSOAS. II. p. 793.

275. ibid. no. 3.

276. ibid. no. 489.

277. ibid. nos. 175, 244, 317.

278. ibid. no. 206.

279. ibid. no. 272.

280. ibid. no. 247.

281. ibid. no. 314.

282. ibid. no. 621.

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283. ibid. no. 586.

284. ibid. no. 186.

285. ibid. nos. 43, 329, 419, 431.

286. These terms are considered by several scholars like F.W.Thomas, Sten Konow and H.W. Bailey in their Papers in JRAS. 1926. pp. 507 ; A.O. VI. pp. 255 ff and BSOAS. 1948. pp. 128 ff, respectively.

287. Documents - Op.cit. no. 324.

288. ibid. no. 419.

289. ibid. no. 489.

290. ibid. no. 43.

291. ibid. nos. 149, 500.

292. ibid. no. 702.

293. ibid. nos. 431, 579.

294. Stein : Serindia. p. 530.

295. Documents nos. 25, 98, 162.

296. ibid. no. 175.

297. ibid. no. 76.

298. ibid. no. 169.

299. ibid. nos. 159, 214, 295.

300. ibid. no. 721.

301. ibid. nos. 83, 578, 583.

302. ibid. no. 187.

303. ibid. no. 227.

304. ibid. nos. 419, 582.

305. ibid. no. 50.

306. ibid. no. 54.

307. ibid. nos. 20, 29, 53.

308. ibid. no. 677.

309. ibid. nos. 364, 550.

310. ibid. no. 591.

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311. ibid. nos. 324, 491.

312. ibid. no. 272.

313. ibid. nos. 52, 195.

314. ibid. no. 272.

315. ibid. no. 14.

316. ibid. no. 24.

317. ibid. no. 362.

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CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

Ancient Indian education aimed at intellectual as also moral growth of the pupil. It was both academically oriented as also tailored to suit the requirements of the student according to his background and family avocation. Great centres of learning with big complexes housing the preceptors and the pupils were yet to emerge. It was the hermitage of the teacher whose name and fame continued to attract pupils from far and near. The academic institutions manned by the preceptors were neither State controlled nor depended for their existence on any other outside help. In fact, it was the pupils and their parents who met the requirements of the preceptor through personal service and donation at the time of parting or on admission to the hermitage. The practical aspect of education was equally important. The course of elementary and general education with the teacher called darakacharya was followed by specialisation and higher education depending upon the caste of the pupil and his requirements. Thus, a Brahmin boy was naturally interested in Vedic studies, grammar and lexicography ; a Kshatriya boy had his training in martial arts, while a Vaisya boy was expected to be proficient in accounting and commerce. Education in subjects - highly specialised and professional - was equally provided by the specialist in those areas. These included subjects like medicine and surgery, and hydraulic engineering. Personal relationship of an intimate nature ensured proper utilization of talents and fuller development of pupil's personality. The The student returned from the home of his teacher after completing his formal education and training and the taking of the

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sacred bath - with the performance of the Samavartana ceremony. He was then a complete personality - intellectually and socially - to take his proper place in society which he was expected to serve in accordance with his attainments. The filtering of the incapable and incompetent pupils in the process of training saved academic wastage. Fuller information in this context is no doubt provided by the Buddhist literature of this period - Mahavastu, Lalitavistara, Saddharma-Pundarika, Milindapanha, Divyavadana and Avadanasataka. Information, as such, is available on the initiation of pupils, education of the dvijas or the twice-born, places and methods of study, relations between the preceptors and the pupils, Buddhist education, vocational studies, female education, scripts and writing material and students life etc.

The Initiation of Pupils :

The initiation of a Brahmin boy started at the age of seven (satavasiko jato imasmim brahmana kule sikkhani namati).[1] This conforms to the age prescribed by Hiranyakesin[2] for this purpose. The process started with the appointment of a Brahmin preceptor who was paid his fees of a thousand pieces (achariya bhagam sahasam datva) for the entire period of study. The study consisted in the three Vedas (tayo Veda sikkhani) along with other kinds of knowledge (avasenani sippani). The teaching method involved repetition of the hymns (sajjhayati) till committed to memory (uggahati). This along with correct intonation necessitated several repetitions. In this process he as well understood the meaning (supadharita) enabling him to fix the right place of each verse (suvavatthapita) and grasp the mysteries in hymns (sumana siktahesvin). The pupil as well became conver-

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sant with Vedic lexicography (nighandu), rituals (ketubha), phonology (sakkharappabheda) and legends (itihasa). He became versed in the padapatha of the Veda (padaka) and could explain or answer questions relating to Vedic grammar (veyyakarana). There is also reference to his attaining knowledge of quasi system of causistry or sophistry (lokayata) and of the bodily marks of greatness (mahapurusha lakhane).[3] This curricula prescribed for a Brahmin boy as noticed in the Milindapanha appears to be in agreement with the accomplishments of a rich and learned boy of Sravasti mentioned in the Avadanasataka.[4] He was conversant with the three Vedas (trayanam vedanam paramgatah) along with the glossary (nighantu), prosody or ritual (kaitabha), legends (itihasa) and could explain them fully. He was also a grammarian (vaiyakarana).[5]

The Divyavadana, however, records a different process of initiation of studies and prescribes a course of elementary studies. According to this work, the study did not commence with the Vedas, but with the first lessons in reading and writing at the teacher's house in the company of many other students (prabhuta darakah). The lesson started with the letters Siddham, and the course ended with accomplishment in writing (lipyam), arithmetic (sankhyam), accounting (ganana) and even exchange (mudrayam), besides rules of asciticism (irya), mendicancy (charya), ceremonial purity (saucham), good social form (samudachara, proper mode of address (bhoskara) and the study of all the four Vedas. After completing his formal education, the pupil could take part in ceremonial practices (brahmana karma om vachayitum arabdhah). According to this work, it was possible for a Brahmin boy to commence his studies with the general subjects (mahan samvrittas) of letters (akshara) and writing (lipyam)

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under the elementary teacher (darakacharya) or confine himself only to the study of the vedas as a manavaka. One such boy Panthaka however, failed to make progress in both and had to content himself as a Brahmin by birth alone. Unlike the darakas, or elementary students those studying the Vedas (manavakas) were matured in intellect and physique too. They equally helped the preceptor in the performance of rituals. There is a reference[6] to a Brahmin teacher having five hundred manavakas on rolls, probably not at a time but in a long span of time. He deputed one of his pupils to cross the seas and perform sacrifice at the house of a caravan trader. He was finally rewarded with the hand of the preceptor's daughter. It might as well be mentioned that all the Brahmins were not conversant with the Vedas (na sarve Brahmana Veda paraga bhavanti)[7]. This reminds one of Patanjali's reference to Brahmins as cleavers of wood (kashtabhid Brahmanah)[8].

Kshatriya's Education :

The contemporary literature is silent about the age of initiation for a Kshatriya boy[9]. Gautama, however, prescribes the age of initiation of a Kshatriya boy at eleven years and that of a Vaishya at twelve. The same law-giver as well suggests that the initiation of a Brahmin boy did not pass till the tenth year, and for a Kshatriya till the twentieth. The Kshatriya princes, according to Milindapanha,[10] were educated in eighteen sippas - arts and sciences. These included different systems of Philosophy (Sankhya, Yoga), Nyaya and Vaiseshika), arithmetic (ganana), music (gandharbha), Purana, Itihasa, astronomy (jyotisha), magic (maya), causation (hetu), spells (mantana), art of war (yuddha), poetry (chandas), conveyancing (mudda) and holy and traditional law (sutisammuti). King Milinda was accomplished

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in these subjects of arts and sciences.

The Divyavadana[11] also prescribes subjects of study of a more practical nature. These include instructions in writing (lipyam), arithmetic (sankhyayam), accounting (gananam), counting by fingers (mudrayam), rules relating to debts (uddhara), deposits (nyasa), trusts (nikshepa), examination of things (vastu-parikshayam) of jewels (ratnaparikshayam), inspection and testing of elephants (hastiparikshayam), horse (asva), wood (daru), cloth (vastra), men and women (purusha-stri) and merchandise of all sorts (nana-panya). The accomplishments in all sciences (sarva-sastrajnah), in all arts (sarvakalabhijnah), in the noises of all creatures (sarvabhitaran-tanjnah), and in the gaits of all moving beings (sarvagati gatijnah) helped in acquiring knowledge about men and matters. This study was supplemented by martial training which included that of elephants (hasti sikshayam), riding (asva prishthe), charioteering (rathe), bowmanship (saredhanushi), use of other types of weapons (apayane niryana ankusagrahi), fettering (pasagrahe), use of iron club (tomara-grahe), holding of mace (yashti-bandha), piercing and killing (chedugo-bhediye), boxing (mushti-bandha), holding the lock of hair, possibly in a fight (sikha-bandhe), fettering of feet (pada-bandhe), hitting distant targets (durabheda), hitting on sound (sabdabheda), piercing vital points (marmabheda), hitting the unconquered (akshuna-bedhe) and accomplishment in a numerous other things.

The Milindapanha[12] refers to training in archery from an expert (kusalo-issatiho) who was rewarded by the ruler. The clever archer first taught his pupils in different kinds of bows (chapabheda) at the training ground (upasanasala).[13] This was followed by the handling of the bow (chaparopanagahana), holding

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it with a firm grasp (mutthinativalana), bending the fingers (angulivinamana), planting of the feet (padathapana), taking up the arrow (saragahana) and placing it on the string (sanadahana), drawing it back (akaddahana), restraining at (sandharana), aiming at mark (lakkhaniyamana) and finally hitting the target - a man of straw (tinapurisaka).

An exhaustive list of subjects for study and training - military, physical, literary, practical and vocational - are mentioned in the Lalitavistara.[14] Some of these are related to physical exercises, games and training in arms. The literary subjects are more or less identical with the ones mentioned in the Divyavadana. A few new ones are also included, such as, knowledge of ceremonies (kriyakalpa), political economy (arthavidya), poetry (kavya), pantomine (rupa), art of decoration (rupakarmani), playing on vina (vinayamvadya), dancing (nritya) reciting songs (gita), drama (natya) and a study of the psychology of different types of persons - men, women and animals. This comprehensive study was meant for the royal princes, since these are recorded in the context of Gautama's proficiency. The famous scene of the Sakyan prince going to school in Gandhara art,[15] with the lipiphalaka or writing tablet prominently displayed suggests stress on letters and writing which preceded any other type of education.

Vaisya's Education :

The Vaisya boy's education had to be commercial-oriented. He had no doubt his training in writing (lipyam), arithmatic (sankhyayam), accounting (gananayam), different types of money in use in commerce and exchange (mudrayam), laws and rules relating

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to debts (udhara), deposits (nyasa), and trusts (nikshape) and in eight kinds of examination (ashtapariksha yam), though only two - Vastupariksha and Ratnapariksha[16] - are mentioned. The Milindapanha[17] enjoins a merchant to investigate goods before purchasing them. According to an earlier work, the Mahavagga,[18] the education of a Vaisya boy was confined to lekha, ganana and rupa. These are also mentioned in the Hathi-gumpha inscription[19] of Kharavela of Kalinga. Lekha included different kinds of scripts with which the merchant was expected to be familiar for commercial transactions with outside persons and traders. Accounting was necessary for assessing profit and loss. Rupa corresponds to the mudda of the Divyavadana referring to different types of money in circulation in countries visited by traders and their counter parts. The education of a Vaisya boy was more practical rather than academic or martial. It was meant to be helpful to him in his commercial dealings. He was equally expected to be familiar with the business norms and rules as were current in those days.

Places and Methods of Study :

While the home of the preceptor was generally the place of study,[20] one finds r-eference to class room called lekhasala or lipisala,[21] suggesting that writing was the most important part of study. Writing work was done on a tablet (lipiphalaka),[22] made of ugrasara chandana with pen (tirakam)[23] and the use of ink (masipinda).[24] Pencil was also used.[25] The Mahavastu narrates the method of study in elementary subjects. Thus, counting was done at the place of the finger for the seal ring (mudrasthani). According to the Milindapanha, calculation was done by using the joints of the fingers as signs or marks (mudda-ganana). The

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beginning part of study (adhikannika)[26], including calculation (ganana), arithmetic (sankhya) and even writing (lekha) was exacting demanding concentration (dhyana), but with attention and practice things became easy. According to the Divyavadana[27], the elementary school pupils returned home for their mid-day meals (bhojanavela). There are also references[28] to tests in writing (lipijnane visishyatah) and calligraphy (lekhayatah). The Lalitavistara[29] refers to sixty-four kinds of scripts but the Mahavastu[30] mentions a modest number of ten only. These Pushkarasari, Kharoshthi, Yavanani (Greek), Brahmi, Pushpalipi, Kutalipi, Saktilipi, Vyatyastalipi, Lekhalipi, and Mudralipi or seal writing. The bigger pupils, called manavakas studied religious scriptures with an acharya as boarders. The pupils committed the mantras to memory. The Mahavastu records instructions[31] to as many as five hundred manavakas by the preceptor. When the pupil had acquired mastery in the three Vedas - in contents, intonation and their mysteries, he was put to a test before his father. The pupil repeated his lessons (anuyogatam datwa) for the last time before his teacher.

Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil :

The relations between the two were matters of prime consideration in ancient times. The approach to a teacher for learning involved certain obligations on the part of the teacher as also of his pupil. Both were expected to follow their responsibilities[32]. The mutual obligations based on the Vinaya texts are mentioned in detail in the Milindapanha[33]. The teacher was expected to conduct himself in accordance with the twenty-five virtues prescribed for him. These included keeping guard over

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his pupil (arakkha upatthapetabba), telling him what to cultivate (sevana) and what to avoid (asevana), where to be earnest (appamatta) and what to neglect (pamatta) ; proper instructions relating to bed (seyya), sickness (getannam), food (bhojanam - laddham - aladdham), company (patichara). He should boost his pupil's morale by encouraging him not to fear (ma bhayi), be zealous (sakkachchakarina), not indulging in foolish talks with him (salapo kataboo) pardoning him when noticing any defect (chiddhani disva - adhivasetabbain) and striving to bring him forward (upatthapetabham) and making him strong (sikkhabalenati). The preceptor was expected to look upon him as a son and love him, share with him the food, never desert him in adversity (apadesu na vijahitabbani) and should always befriend him as far as he could go.

The duties enjoined for the pupil in the same work are to feel alike pain and joy (samana sukhadukhohoti) as the order does, with no passion for excitement, nor running after any other teacher in life (na annam sattharam uddisati), keeping guard over himself in thought and deed (kayikam vachasikan-chassa rakkhitam hoti), delighting in peace (samaggarimohoti), willing to part according to his capacity (yathabalam samvibhagaratohoti), holding right views (sammadittihokohoti) and the last one relating to the revival of the religion of the preceptor, if decaying (abhivaddhiyavayamati). The injunctions enjoined for the preceptor and the pupil, although noticed in the religious text Vinaya and later on in the Milindapanha seem to be of universal acceptance. According to the Apastamba Dharma Sutra,[34] a teacher should regard his pupils like his sons.[35] This is equally confirmed by I-tsing. As regards zealousness in instruction and that too in full, without

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holding anything secret, and not keeping something back. The above mentioned Dharmasutra[36] further requires the preceptor to pay full attention to the teaching of sacred sciences, withholding no part of it. The Prasnaupanishad[37] gives a definite injunction that the teacher was not to conceal anything from his pupil, as such concealment would spell ruin on him. The Taittareya Aranyaka[38] calls upon the teacher to put his heart and soul in imparting instruction. So also the Satapatha Brahmana[39] makes it incumbent on the preceptor to reveal everything to his pupil. The other instructions relate to the pupil's conduct and behaviour in food and relations with others. Manu also prescribes teaching of rules of purification and good conduct by the teacher.

As regards the duties of the pupils and their devotion towards the preceptor, Gautama prescribes performance of certain personal services while in residence with his teacher. He did not live elsewhere during the period of his studentship. Attending on the teacher for his personal needs is also mentioned in the Gopatha Brahmana.[40] Mutual relations between the Preceptor and his pupil were based on bonds of confidence, and communion of life without any reservation.

Buddhist Education :

The education of Buddhist monks or pupils, popularly called Saddviharika commenced under some important teacher in the vihara. According to the Milindapanha,[41] entry into the Buddhist order as a pupil was necessary for learning Buddhist hymns. In so doing the consent of the parents was necessary before ordination. The first act of admission called pabajja

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is described in detail in the Mahavagga. The study of the pupil generally commenced with the Discourses (suttana), followed by deeper things of the Faith (abhidhamma). The intelligent pupil could do the other way as was done by Nagasena. He was to master the whole of Abhidhamma by heart with its great divisions into good (kusala), bad (akusala) and indifferent (avyakta) pieces ; Dhamma-Sangani, a compendium of Psychology ; the Vibhanga with its eighteen chapters ; Dhatupatha, Puggalapannati, Kathavatthu, Yamaka and the Patthana along with their divisions or sections. The study of Abhidhammas - the deeper things of Faith - even by those not ordained or leaving the order after completing their education. Thus, the Pataliputra merchant who played host to Nagasena told him on enquiry that, like him, he too was a student of Abhidhamma. According to I-tsing,[42] Bhartrihari became a priest seven times, returning again and again to the laity. The Avadanasataka[43] refers to the study of the three Pitakas or baskets of learning. The rote method was followed for committing the Buddhist texts to memory (kayagatam), followed by its codification in a book form (pustagatam va).

Vocational Education :

Initiation in Medicine and Surgery - the two branches of medical science had attained considerable importance in this period. Tradition places Kanishka and Charaka as contemporaries, while Susruta might have followed a little later. This Science had acquired great favour with the Brahmins. Asvaghosha refers[44] to skilful surgeon performing delicate operations in extracting splinters lodged near the heart. Strabo as well mentions[45] this academic pursuit carried out scientifically. Susruta furnishes

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data relating to the initiation of pupils into the science of medicine and surgery. The student to be initiated had to be a dvija - one of the three twice-born castes, of tender years (vayas), from a good family (anvaya) and gifted with qualities like calm temper (sila), prowess (saurya), purity (saucham), modesty (vinaya), capacity and strength (sakti-bala), good conduct (achara) with a clear insight into things studied (medha-dhriti smriti), contended frame of mind (prasanna chitta), pleasant in speech (vakyacheshtam) and painstaking in efforts (klesasaham). Certain physical attributes are also noticed, as for example, thin lips (tanujaushta), teeth and tongue.[46] One possessed of contrary attributes was not to be admitted (viparita-gunam nopanayet). A Sudra of good character and parentage could be admitted (Sudram-api-kula-guna sampannam) but the mantras to be recited on such an occasion were omitted.[47] The initiation of a Brahmin pupil could be done by a teacher of this caste alone (upanayaniyas-tu Brahmanah). Firstly, a square sand cushion platform measuring a cubit in length and breadth was laid on an auspicous day, plastered with a solution of water and cow dung. This was followed by the propitiation of gods (devatah), brahmins (vipran) and physicians (bhishajas) with oblations of flowers, fried paddy gems, and sun dried rice (pushpaim-laja bhaktair-ratnaicha). Next followed the performance of the rite of Home according to the rules of a Darvi (Darvihaumikena vidhana) after soaking the twigs of the four sacrificial trees of Khadira, palasa, devadaru and vitva, or of Vata, Udumbara, asvatha and madhuka in curd and clarified butter. The last rite was the libation of clarified butter in honour of each of the gods and the rishis (celestial physicians) invoked by repeating the svahah mantram.

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A Brahmin preceptor could initiate a student of any of the three twice-born castes ; a Kshatriya could initiate one of his caste or a Vaisya (rajanyo avaisyacha), while a Vaisya could only initiate a pupil of his caste (Vaisyu Vaisyasya eva iti).[48] The address of the preceptor on this occasion was equally instructive and interesting.[49] Renunciation of lust (kama), anger (krodha), greed (lobha), ignorance (moha), vanity (mana), egoism (ahamkara), envy (visha), harshness (rosha), spite (paisuna), falsehood (anrita), idleness (alasya) nay all that soiled the good name of man. He was required to pair his nails and clip his hair (nakha romna suchina). The sacred cloth (kashaya vasasa) was dyed brownist yellow, and the pupil was required to lead the life of a truthful self-controlled anchorite (satyavrata brahmachari). Strict adherence to the wishes of the teacher at meals or in study and in all acts was prescribed for the pupil. Susruta also mentions certain prohibited places and dates when the study of Ayuraveda was not to be done. He also refers to injunctions regarding the treatment of persons like hunters (vyadha), fowler (sakunika), habitual sinner (patita) and one degraded in life.

Susruta describes the general medical education, but the Milindapanha[50] mentions the initiation of a medical student either as a physician (bhissako) or a surgeon (sallakatto). The student first procured for himself a teacher either on payment of fee, or by the performance of service. He thoroughly trained himself in holding the lancet (sallhagahana), in cutting (chedana), marking (lekhana), or piercing with it (vedhana) in extracting dart (sallud-dharana) in cleansing wounds (vanadhobana), in causing then to dry up (sosana), in the application of ointment

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(bhesajjanulimpana), in the administration of emetics and purgatives and oily enemas (vamana-virechananu vasana kriyam). It was only after going through the period of apprenticeship (katasikkho) that he was deemed skilful (katupasano - katahatto) to visit the sick for treatment (aturo upasankamati tikichhava). This skilful training in surgery made him (salya) accomplished in his art and he could perform delicate operations.

The physician's training was different. The student specialising in medicine was expected to know all the diseases (sarvavya-dhijnasyat)[51], which were of four kinds - namely rheumatical (vatika), cholerical (paittika), phlegmatical (slaishmika), and those caused by the complication of the corrupted humour (sannipatika). He was also to know all the drugs found on the earth (pathaviyam sabbabhesh ajjani janatiti)[52]. The medical education also included knowledge of gynaecology. The Saddharmapundarika refers to throes of pain (vyapnitadukha) while the Avadanasataka[53] mentions the performance of caesarian operation (udaram ghatayitva), and delivering the baby. Eminent physicians (mahabhishak) were skilled in diagnosis. They could lighten the seriousness of the disease (lahukam karoti) with the aid of strong drugs. A good knowledge of Pharmacology and Materia Medica was thus necessary for medical students.

Other Vocational Trainings :

The Milindapanha[54] mentions Sudantevasin or a cook's apprentice, who taking a piece of ordinary nutmeg could prepare a dish, treating with various kinds of ingredients. This training was necessary for those intending entry into the royal refrectory for preparing different types of dishes, or in domestic employment with rich and affluent people who could afford

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to engage them.

Female Education :

Inscriptions as also literature provide reference to talented ladies, distinguishing themselves in propagating the religion of their adoption. A few terms like Sravika, Sraddha, Chari and Sishni are noticed in the Brahmi records from Mathura. Dina, Vasula and Balahastini are names which occur frequently. The female pupils were attached to Sraddhachari[55] though there was no bar to their ordination by a male teacher.[56] The Mahavastu also refers to the literary accomplishments of ladies. Amara, an artisan's daughter, was educated by an ascetic in religious subjects.[57] She could discuss Sastras with others and was unbeatable. A Brahmin youth from the Deccan ultimately triumphed over her head and heart.

Scripts and Writing Materials :

Reference has already been made to sixty-four types of scripts mentioned in the Lalitavistara,[58] and about a dozen ones in the Mahavastu. Even the teacher had not heard the names of these writings (yesham-ahani nama-dheyani lipinam na prajananim) in which the young boy Gautama was proficient. The writing material consisted of a lump of ink (masipinda), pen (tirako) and sometimes pencil (tula).[59] The stuff for writing was the bhurja leaf mentioned in the Mahavastu.[60] The Milindapanha mentions some one calling his clerk (lekhanan) at night, litting the lamp (padipam = aropetva), and ultimately getting the letter written at that time (lekham lekha peyya).[61]

Student's Life :

The acquisition of knowledge as well involved pain and

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suffering. While in residence with the teacher, the pupils had to suppress their desires (sakachittan nikkhipitya)[62] and act according to the dictates of the preceptor (parachittanuvattanena). The life of physical discomforts, as for example, in sleep and food (vishambhojana) and in attendance on the preceptor for his personal needs, mentioned in literature, was a real test of the student's aptitude for learning. He was expected to put up with all these things in his thirst for knowledge. Respect was shown to the teacher by standing in his presence. The best student, according to Divyavadana was called svadhyayatana. The pupils also enjoyed holidays and there is a reference to their going on excursion to cities (nagaravalokanaya);[63] When there were no instructions by the teacher. Some had to bring fuel for sacrifice (anidha haraka gachanti).

Education as noticed in the literature of the period was more or less personal rather than institutional, with a limited number of pupils attached to a preceptor. Such students were interested in Vedic studies and rituals and were called manavakas. They were different from small boys (darakas) who were day-scholars and their hours of study were limited in the day time. The subjects of study varied according to the caste of the pupil and his requirements - ritualistic and philosophic for the Brahmins, martial and academic for the Kshatriya and practical and commercial for the Vaisya. Medicine and Surgery figured in the area of specialisation. The Sudra boy could also study medicines sans proper initiation. Ladies were not denied facilities for learning, especially religious literature.

Education in Central Asia :

Information regarding the educational conditions in Central

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Asia in the Kushana period is rather scanty. The accounts left by the Chinese pilgrims passing through this region on way to India as also the finds of manuscripts in different languages do provide information relating to language and literature. The reference to the number of viharas and the monks undergoing instructions there do provide information relating to religious education. The languages recorded in the manuscripts and inscriptions are numerous pointing to the number of tongues simultaneously in use for popular or learned discourses. Besides the great polyglot libraries like Tun-huang, even a small one at Toyug[64] contained Indian, Manichaean, Syriac, Sogdian, Uighur and Chinese manuscripts. The writing material included imported palm leaves, leather and paper. The last one was in use from the first century A.D. onwards. These survived through the ages due to dry atmosphere.

Besides numerous Sanskrit writings dealing with religious or quasi-religious subjects, like medicine and grammar, comparative Mahayanist literature has been traced in abundance. Portions of a Sanskrit Grammar have been found near Turfan, thus pointing to Sanskrit language being studied in polite and learned society. According to the testimony of Fa-hien, the monks of Central Asia were all students of the language of India. The same point was recorded by Hsuen-tsang about the Buddhist monks of Kucha. Some leaves from Mingol contained fragments of two Buddhist religious dramas[65], one being the Sariputraprakarana of Asvaghosha written in the script of the time of Kanishka. It is the oldest known Sanskrit manuscript as also the earliest specimen of ancient Indian dramatic art. Besides these, the Prakrit version of the Dhammapada in Kharoshthi character discovered by Dutreuil de Rhins mission near Khotan[66] with numerous documents in this language and alphabets

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are more or less of the same period as the period of the Kushanas in India.

Central Asia is also supposed to provide two new languages written in a special variety of the Brahmi script called Nordarisch, probably the language of the Sakas or of the Kushanas. Its basis is Iranian but it is strongly influenced by Indian idioms.[67] It is supposed to have been spoken principally in the southern part of the Tarim basin, and many translations of Mahayanist works such as the Suvarnaprabhasa, Vajrachedika and Aparimitayas. Sutras were made into it.[68] The other new language was that of the Tokharas or Indo-Scythians, spoken primarily on its northern edge, and was called the language of the Kucha or Kuchanese. It is supposed to exist in two different dialects where geographical distribution is uncertain but numerous official documents dated in the first half of the seventh century show that it was the spoken language of Kucha and Turfan. It was also a literary language and the translations discovered in this one include those of the Dhammapada and Vinaya. The language spoken by the early and perhaps original people of Kucha is supposed to belong to the Aryan family, closely related to the western than the eastern branch.

The Buddhist monasteries were centres of learning in Central Asia, which were headed by eminent Indian scholars from Kashmir and Kabul. Kucha, Kashgar and Khotan had great establishments of Buddhist monks and teachers as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim. It is suggested that the interference of the Yuch-chi in the affairs of Kashgar in c. 120 A.D. resulted in the introduction of Buddhism into that territory.[70] This seems to agree with the tradition recorded by Hsuan-tsang which makes the princely hostage from the States east of Tsung-ling, including She-la or

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Kashgar, residents in a Buddhist convent and connects their allegiance with the reign of Kanishka. In Fa-hien's time there were more than a thousand monks and their disciples at She-le or Kashgar, all students of the Hinayana.[71] At Khotan the monks numbered several thousands, most of them being students of the Mahayana.[72] In Kumarajiva's time, the great Kashmirian scholar Buddhayasa was in Kashgar. Here Kumarajiva stayed for a year, and studied the four Vedas, five sciences, the Brahmanical sacred texts as also astronomy, the Satasasha and the Madhyanakasastra[73] etc. Later on he went to Kucha where he distinguished himself as a great scholar before proceeding to Chang-ngan in China where he stayed till his death in A.D. 413. His contemporaries included many savants of Kucha like Vimalaksha, Dharmamitra, Buddhayasa, the famous scholar of Kashmir and Buddhabhedra who joined him first in Kucha and later on in China.

A reference to these Indian scholars and their contributions to Buddhism through exposition and translation of Buddhist texts would suggest that there were great centres of Buddhist learning in Central Asia in the Kushana period and these continued to prosper later on. Provision was there for the study of Buddhist canonical texts as also for sacred Vedic texts and the finds of Sanskrit drama Sariputraprakarana and some other medical texts suggest that secular literature was equally studied. The pattern of study was of course the same and the preservation of texts and exposition and translation was done through Brahmi or Kharosthi scripts in languages, current in Kucha and Khotan. Sanskrit had not lost its importance in this part of Asia where it was studied. A fuller account of the literature in Central Asia would, however, receive separate treatment and presentation.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Mil. p. 9. 29 ff.
2. I. 1.1.2
3. Mil. p. 10. 5ff.
4. Vol. II. p. 19
5. p. 485.
6. ibid. p. 89
7. ibid. p. 485
8. Mahabhashya (Kielhorn Ed.) III. 469. p. 179.13
9. I. 5. 14
10. p. 3
11. p. 100
12. p. 232
13. p. 352. 23 ff.
14. XIII. p. 156. 9 ff.
15. Marshall. Gandhara Art. Cambridge. 1960. fig. 95 - showing the scene of child Gautama going to school.
16. pp. 3 ff.
17. p. 194
18. SBE. XIII. p. 201
19. JBORS. III. pp. 275 ff.
20. Div. p. 171. 4
21. Lalit. X. p. 234. 16
22. ibid. p. 125
23. ibid.
24. Div. p. 532
25. I. p. 135
26. Mil. p. 59
27. p. 171. 14
28. Lalit. X. 125

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29. ibid.

30. I. p. 135

31. II. p. 89

32. Mahavagga. I. 25, 26

33. Mil. p. 94

34. I. 8

35. Op.cit. p. 120

36. I. 2

37. VI. 1

38. Chap. 2

39. XIV. 1.1. 26-27

40. I.2. 1.8

41. p. 12

42. Op.cit p. 105

43. II. p. 80

44. Saun. XVII. 7

45. XVI. I. 34

46. Sus. II. 3

47. ibid. II. 5

48. ibid. II. 4

49. ibid. II. 8

50. p. 353. 11

51. Sadh.Pun. V. p. 133

52. p. 74

53. II. p. 134

54. p. 25

55. I. p. 395

56. Mah. II. p. 83

57. ibid. III. 390

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58. Lalit. X. p. 125

59. ibid. p. 122.

60. II. p. 82

61. pp. 42-25

62. Mil. 315.10

63. p. 84

64. Eliot. Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III. p. 89. See also A. Stein. Serindia. p. 1167 n.

65. Remains of the works of the two great Buddhist poets Asvaghosha and Matrichota were discovered among the Central Asian finds. Fragments of the works of the former were brought to light by the German mission from the Turfan region. This drama - not traceable elsewhere - was discovered in the Turfan region only in fragments. The work is in Sanskrit but the dialogues are in Prakrit, older than those used in Sanskrit drama. (Keith. Sanskrit Drama. Oxford. 1924. pp. 80 ff).

66. Eliot. Op.cit. p. 190. The Central Asian finds include the Dhammapada in Prakrit and the Udanavarga in Sanskrit, the former from the region of Khotan and in Kharoshthi script of about the 3rd century A.D. (Senart. Les ms Kharoshthi de Dhammapada. JA. 1898. II. p. 193.

67. Eliot. Op.cit. p. 190. See also Luders. Die Sakas Und Die Nordarische Sprache - quoted by Eliot and also by Bagchi - India and Central Asia. Calcutta. 1955. pp.98 ff.

68. Hoernle. JRAS. 1910. pp. 837 ff; 1283 ff.

69. Stein. Ancient Khotan. 2 Vols. Oxford. 1907 p.56 and note 3.

70. Stein. Op.cit p. 56. The notices on Kashgar during the the Tana Period are recorded in Stein's Ancient Khotan (pp. 65-70).

71. Stein. Op.cit p. 169 ; Legge. Fahian's Travels. pp. 16-20.

72. For an account of Kumarajiva's life history and his contributions to Buddhist literature and canons, see Nanjio's Catalogue. II. 59 pp. 406-408 ; Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII. p. 701a.

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CHAPTER X

LITERATURE

The Kushana period is notable for its Sanskrit-Buddhist literature. The language is Sanskrit and the theme of the literary works is Buddhist. The doctrines and relics of the old Pali canonical literature represent a liberal and healthier outlook of Buddhism. The Lord is accorded the divine status, like any incarnation of Brahmanical divinity and the devotee is enjoined to seek the panacea of his sufferings through bhakti and devotion. A galaxy of countless myriads of Bodhisattvas endowed with perfections (paramitas) and destined for enlightenment set a new trend in Buddhist thought and literature connected with it. This popular side of Buddhism, characterised by the new Buddhist ideal and worship of the Lord, makes it more in accord with the Brahmanical notion of Bhaktism as is traceable in the Bhagavad Gita. The literature in Sanskrit aimed more or less at popularising the new trend in Buddhism with particular reference to the life of the Buddha and legends, and characters associated with him. The Sariputraprakarana, the solitary drama of Asvaghosha, was written in this spirit, as also his Buddhacharita and Saundarananda. Unfortunately it is difficult to fix the age of different works from a chronological point of view. There are bound to be overlappings and it is on the basis of translations of these works in Chinese that the probable date of these works could be ascertained.

Asvaghosha and his Works :

In the words of Keith,[1] the deplorable darkness enveloping early India renders it impossible to establish with certainty the date of Asvaghosha, but the find of the Sariputraprakarana has been helpful in this context. This drama, according to Luders,[2]

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belongs on palaeographic ground to the time of the Kushanas, probably to the reign of Kanishka or Huvishka. This view is as well supported by the marginal corrections supposed to have been made by a Central Asian hand in the late Kushana era. The overwriting in letters was probably made on a manuscript showing signs of being long in use. The lower limit - the terminus ad quem - for this writer is provided by the Chinese translation of his work, the Buddhacharita[3] in Chinese in the fifth century A.D. The upper limit could therefore be fixed a few centuries earlier.[4] In this context Johnston proposed two minor points bringing out semblance between a line from Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita and another from the commentary or Namasangiti which has preserved a line from Matricheta. He suggested that the reign of Kanishka should be taken as the lower limit for determining the time of Asvaghosha. The play on verbal tricks and cliches precluded the learned professor from pressing this piece of evidence. The late Oxford Don did not accept the information from the Chinese tradition associating Asvaghosha both with Kanishka and with the composition of the Vibhasa, the great Sarvastivadin Commentary on the Abhidhamma, the product of the fourth Buddhist Council. The internal evidence particularly relating to Asvaghosha's accomplishments in Brahmanical learning, and the respectful reference to their institutions, does not match, according to some scholars,[5] with the hostile anti-Brahmanical atmosphere of the time. Johnston equally doubted the date of the Vibhasa, and the story of the Buddhist Council being held in the time of Kanishka. The date of this Buddhist poet, philosopher and dramatist seems uncertain, except that the

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lower limit might have been before the 4th century A.D. and the upper limit approximately between 50 B.C. and 100 A.D., with a preference for the first century A.D. Thus, the poet is supposed to have flourished before the time of Kanishka or was an elder contemporary of this Kushana ruler.

The points raised by Johnston, however, demand careful consideration. Asvaghosha's attainments and his attitude towards Brahmins and their institutions, in an age supposed to be anti-Brahmanical, is neither correct, nor has it any relevance or bearing on the date of the poet. In fact, Kanishka believed in eclecticism and he depicted divinities from different pantheons on his coins which was symbolic of religious toleration and understanding. Brahmanism too at that time was a living force as evinced from inscriptions and coins. Further, Asvaghosha's learning and his knowledge of medicine and surgery equally expressed through similies and metaphors in his works, suggest his contemporaneity with Charaka and Susruta, or he was slightly posterior to them.[6] The information relating to him from the Tibetan and Chinese sources too cannot be brushed aside. The general consensus seems to be that Asvaghosha was a contemporary of Kanishka and exercised great influence over him as an adviser, if not effectively as an alter-ego.

The two famous Kavyas of Asvaghosha - Buddhacharita[7] and Saundarananda - represent that form of ornate poetry called sarga-bandha or Mahakavya. In accordance with the rules prescribed for its production, as recorded later on by Dandin in his Kavyadarsa,[9] a good Kavya should begin with the benediction or statement on the subject matter with its contents based on tradition, or otherwise real, and the end should conform to one of the four aims of man - profit, duty, desire and relief. The character of the hero -

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clever and noble - should figure prominently in the work, properly ornamented with description of a varied nature, manifesting poet's familiarity with different aspects of human life and temperamental feelings in alignment with nature. Attractive metres with a change at the end, with the neatness of transition, coupled with suitable ornamentation of figures, determine the longevity of a good Kavya. Asvaghosha's two Kavyas meet these requirements fully. The poet rightly mentions in the last canto of Saundarananda, 'Since I saw mankind given over to the pleasure of the senses and averse from salvation, I have here told of the final truth under the guise of a Kavya considering salvation to be supreme. Let the reader understand this and study attentively in it that which leads to tranquility, and not that which is merely pleasurable as only the residue of gold is taken after it has been separated from the metal dust'.

Of the two Kavyas of Asvaghosha, the Buddhacharita is supposed to be later than the Saundarananda,[10] although the former is more important than the other. According to I-tsing,[11] its composition aimed at relating the main doctrines and works of the Tathagata during his life from the period when he was still in the royal palace till his last hour under the avenue of the Sala tree. It was widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India and the countries of the south-seas during this pilgrims visit. The work is left in torso - there are only fourteen out of twenty-eight cantos in Sanskrit though the Chinese version contained the full Kavya. The poet portrays the life of the Lord with devotion and admiration in simple and chaste Sanskrit,[12] with moderation in the use of alamkaras or embellishments, and in plain style. A

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well-planned arrangement of the material is in contrast to the disorder in texts like the Mahavastu and the Lalitavistara. The The connecting thread of the story is no where broken, and so also the patience of the reader is kept in bounds. The poet is very particular to avoid unnecessary strain, and, as such, introduces humour at appropriate places. Thus, 'Hearing the news of the arrival of the Tathagata in the city of Kapilavastu, some of the magnificent women in their rush to see their prince were delayed in their movements by the weight of their chariot like hips and full breasts.'[13] The poet also compares the lotus faces of the women emerging from the windows like lotus stuck on the pavilions, and the city appearing as the Paradise with its heavenly mansions full of the apsaras,[14] the heavenly nymphs. This description is imitated by Kalidasa.[15] Asvaghosha as well introduces Nitisastra or statecraft in his Kavya. Denial of courtesy, in the words of Udayin, an expert in the science of worldly conduct, ill-befits one, young in age and beautiful in appearance.[16] The poet as well quotes instances from the past relating to the observance of state-craft rules and social etiquette . He does not ignore ornamentation and embellishment as for instance in the description of the city of Kapilavastu[17] and the pleasure excursion of the young prince descending at the proper time in full splendour, mounting on a golden chariot, adorned majestically with suitable retinues. It appeared as if the moon with the constellations was ascending in the sky.

The Buddhacharita dealing with the broad theme of life ends with the conversions made at Varanasi in the present text. It is closer to the Lalitavistara in theme, although it is not

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certain if the latter was the source for Asvaghosha's kavya. There is no doubt difference in language. The Lalitavistara is in Sanskrit prose, intermingled with ballads in mixed Sanskrit called by Keith[18] - the so-called Gatha style. Unlike the Lalitavistara which at times is confused and incoherent in the presentation of details, Asvaghosha is crisp and his treatment is artistic, devoid of prolivity, as one finds in the other work. The poet seems to be at home with the older texts, as for example with the Ramayana of the Adikavi Valamiki. Parallels can be traced in the treatment of Suddhodana's bemoaning for his son's exit and the chariot returning without the prince, like Dasaratha's lament on Rama's exile. Chandaka's return to Kapilavastu is similar to Sumanta's return to Ayodhya without Rama. Similarly Yasodhara's lament for the sufferings of the prince in the new life of hardship is modelled on Sita's sorrow for her lord's sufferings in the forest. Some scholars have handled this aspect of parallelism between Valamiki's Ramayana and Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita.[19] It appears that Asvaghosha was as much indebted to Valamiki as Kalidasa owed much to him, although both stood independent of their predecessors in the approach and treatment of their themes.

Saundarananda :

This long poem by Asvaghosha is also related to the life story of Buddha with the reluctant Nanda, his half-brother's conversion forming the main theme. The story is related in earlier Pali works.[20] As the poet states emphatically, he wrote it for the sake of detection but for liberation and creation of peaceful situation in life. The poem begins with the usual description of the city of Kapilavastu and the ruling family with a brief account of

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Sarvarthasiddhi and his half-brother Nanda, the story of the Buddha and the beginning of the story with Sundari's beauty and her union with Nanda. The couple's yearning for each other knew no bounds. The Sakyan noble's duty towards the Tathagata who had called on him, and his attachment to his wife Sundari - a very lotus pond in the shape of a woman - makes him uncomfortable and indecisive in that situation. A bargain is struck and the lady asks her lord, appearing like the rising sun from the eastern mountain, to return soon. Nanda agrees and casts aside glance at her. Proceeding slowly and in a solemn manner, he greets the Tathagata explaining his delay, and the latter hastens to secure his ordination. Nanda's body is at the disposal of the Lord but not his mind. He is, however, reminded of his obligation not to quit the monastery. Sundari's grief is bitter and so is her lord's keen desire to cling to his beloved wife. The next two cantos deal with the demerits of women with flattery on their lips and treachery in their hearts. Asvaghosha appears to be very bitter against women. Nanda is warned of the evils of pride. Finally, the pilgrimage of Nanda in the company of the Lord to mount Himavant and the trip to Indra's paradise are related. Nanda feels enamoured of the heavenly nymphs. His passion is inflamed and forgetting Sundari he solicits Tathagata's help in obtaining the heavenly nymphs. This is the turning point in the story. Bitten by that viper of love, Nanda feels inactive and is lost in spirits. He is advised to acquire merit by the practice of the law to obtain the apsaras. Nanda still has the nymphs fixed in his mind till Anand warns him that the joys of heaven are transitory and when man's merits are exhausted, he must return to earth again. Nanda now obtains instructions from the Buddha, following

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the noble course of seeking salvation not for himself alone, but for others as well. Holding the law of holy knowledge, girding on the armour of attentiveness, and taking up his post on the chariot of the vows of pure discipline, he finally prepares for victory.[21] The sharp splinter of false views lodging in his heart, as Asvaghosha points out, is ultimately pulled out by the jaws of forceps of the Lord's voice.[22] His wife Sundari too with the desires turned away from various objects of sense, preaches among women freedom from passion.[23]

Sariputraprakarana[24] :

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A few passages of this drama in a Central Asian manuscript was originally a nine act play with the story of the conversion of Sariputra and Maudgalyana as its theme. Some of the incidents recorded are certain. The interview of Sariputra with Asvagita with whom he discusses the question of the claim of the Buddha to be a teacher, the role played by Vidu Saka who objects to a Brahmin like his master receiving instructions from a Kshatriya. Sariputra refutes the objection by reminding his friend that medicines aid the sick though given by one of inferior caste. Maudgalyana greets Sariputra and enquires about his happy appearance and learning. Then both leave together to meet the Tathagata. Buddha receives them and tells them about their future as highest in knowledge and power among his disciples. The delineation from the ordinary version of the story is noticed in the prophecy of Buddha about the two young converts. In the end there is a philosophical dialogue between Sariputra and the Tathagata including a polemic against the belief in the existence of the permanent self. The play ends with a praise of the two new disciples by the Buddha and a formal benediction.

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The same manuscript which contains portions of the Sariputraprakarana has fragments of two other dramas as well. It is presumed[25] that in the absence of any definite evidence as to their authorship, and the display of similarity in general appearance with Asvaghosha's drama, these too might as well be his production. The first one is a Buddhist allegory and the second one concerns the love affair of a young nayaka named Somadatta who was finally converted to Buddhism, as was also the theme of Asvaghosha's Saundarananda. In this context, the claim of this contemporary of Kanishka, as the author of these two dramas is questioned by Johnston,[26] because of the occurance of three verses in the Sragadhara metre which became popular with later Buddhists, especially those of Kashmir, and two in Harini and one in Arya. According to F.W. Thomas,[27] Asvaghosha was the author of the lyrical drama treating the legend of Rashtrapala, while Windisch presumes[28] that his dramatic powers are also exhibited in the Meva legend of the Sutralankara[29] prescribed in the Divyavadana. Luders in his Bruchstucke mentions the characters of the drama -- Pari-parsvikah, assistant to the stage director Madhaka, the prompter and the actors - Somadatta, the hero, Kumudagandha, the Vidusaka, Dhanan or Dhananjaya, possibly a prince, the haltera Madhavavati, the female attendant Cheti, besides Buddha, Siddhartha, Sariputra, Maudgalyayana and Brahma figure in this play. It is, however, difficult to suggest if the two plays were as well written by Asvaghosha, although these conform to the canons of the Natyasastra, and the subject matter is very close to the known drama of Asvaghosha in which he equally displayed his talents.

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Other Works of Asvaghosha :

The Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute to the

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Buddhist poet a few more works - listed by Thomas in his Kavindravachana-samucchaya[30] - namely Gandistotra and Vajrasuchi. Those attributed to him in Tibetan are 11 in number which led Kern to think[31] that Asvaghosha was not an historical person, but a personification of kala, a form of Siva. It might no doubt be difficult to associate works dealing with the fully developed Mahayanism with Asvaghosha. Of the other two works - Vajrasuchi, a clever piece of polemics with arguments against Brahmin superiority and caste system has hardly any trace of Asvaghosha's style. His association with this work rests on very slender foundation.[32] The other work, Gandistotra 'the song of the bell', a collection of 29 stanzas in Sringadhara metre, too, has no affinity with the style of Asvaghosha, and it is supposed to have been written centuries later during the period of anarchy in Kasmira. The controversy about the authorship of Sutralankara, mentioned by I-tsing is finally settled with the discovery of the original Sanskrit manuscript in Central Asia.[33]

Asvaghosha and Earlier Literature :

An assessment of Asvaghosha as a literary figure demands consideration of his indebtedness to his predecessors and emulation by his successors. The different facets of his kavya, dipped into aspects of life with romanticism and love with nature, and presentation in chaste and beuatiful form are portrayed in his works. This Suvarnakshiputra, the native of Saketa, hailing from a Brahmin family, was no doubt well-up in learning and was deeply influenced by the legend of Rama as related by the Adi-kavi Valmiki.[34] There are numerous instances in his works suggesting his deep

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knowledge of earlier Sanskrit literature. These include reference to Agastya obtaining Lopamudra from Rohim,[35] wife of Soma, Yayati who dallied with the apsara Visvaki,[36] and Vyasa arranging the lost Vedas in many sections.[37] He was conversant with Vedic literature and its mythology. Asvaghosha's indebtedness to the Mahabharata is evident from his drawing personalities from the Epics - as for instance, the story of Santanu, son of Pralipa, losing all control at his desertion by Ganga,[38] and Janaka instructing the twice-born in Yoga.[39] He also cites legends from the Mahabharata, such as the destruction of the Kurus,[40] the deeds of Bhishma,[41] and Pandu's attachment to Madri.[42] So also was the poet indebted to the Bhagavad Gita for matter and language. In the advice to Nanda, to check the naturally fickle sense,[43] the unsatisfied ones are compared to the ocean which though incessantly supplied with water still longs for more.[44] The Lord advices Arjuna in the Gita that the self-controlled person attains peace when the sense employed are purged of attachment.

Asvaghosha's indebtedness to Valamiki from whom he got inspiration has been worked out by several scholars.[45] Gawroński first drew attention to some references. He referred to eight stanzas from the Buddhacharita, speaking of Rana's exile and Dasaratha's despair and lament.[46] Among these the one spoken by Chandaka on his parting from the prince find a parallel in Sarga 52 of Book II of the Ramayana.[47] The second reference relating to the arrival of Chandaka and Kanthaka without the Sakyan prince is similar to the chariot of Dasaratha's son returning without Rama, and the people lamenting in the same way. Bemoaning in the palace Suddhodana envies Dasaratha, son of Aja, who after the departure of his son to the forest went to heaven instead of

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living in misery with futile tears.[48] The last one refers to his many laments like Dasaratha dominated by grief for Rama.[49] There are also parallels of several passages in sarga 54-64 of Book II of the Ramayana. The Polish scholar also notices four other references which are of course vague. These concern the deputation to the prince,[50] requesting him to adhere to the wishes of his father as did Bhishma and Rama.[51] He also leaves the penance grove for protecting the earth when it was exposed to the infidel.[52] The last instance of parallelism is from the mouth of Siddhartha. 'And as for your quoting the instance of Rama and others to justify my return, they do not prove your case, for those who have broken their vows are not competent authorities in deciding matters of dharma (na te pramanam dharma-nischaye).[53]

Some parallelism is traced in the events that follow the same course in the two kavyas - the charioteer's return journey, his enterance into the capital, assailed by the citizens anxious for the news, their lament and dejection, the women running and withdrawing in deep depression, and finally his audience with the king are described in the same strain in both the works. Other sets of parallel stanzas relate to Yasodhara's lament over her husband's departure for the forest,[54] and Suddhodhana's lamentations including instance showing identical anuprasas.[55]

This study of parallelism between the Ramayana of Adikavi Valamiki and the Buddhacharita of Asvaghosha was carried on by Gurner, with aspects of comparison divided under four heads - stock topics, style and alankaras, grammar and vocabulary, and lastly moral instances. The stock topics are confined to descriptive passages of purely literary value or fragments drawn from the general corpus of standarised Sanskrit learning. The model reigns of Dasa-

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ratha and Rama characterised by prosperity ; general good will and blessings are echoed in the conditions of Kapilavastu during the reign of Suddhodhana. The allusion to Manu in both,[56] the stock description of the city[57] and of the hermitage - asrama - recalls those narrated in the Ramayana. Stock phrases and terms are noticed in the types of asceticism.[58] The richness of Ramayana in feminine laments, as for example of Sita, finds a poor parallel in Sundari's over her desertion[59] by her husband. Sundari, however, follows the woman's way with her ornaments as Kaikeyi had taught her.[60] The descriptive element in the human pathos of the king lying on earth - bhumipalatmajo bhumau sete - develops into praveritas = te bhuvi tasya murahaja.[61] Close similarities in the description of the weeping horse of Siddhartha,[62] the animal-faced demons of Mara with branches of trees and stones recalling the army of Ravana and the weapons of the monkeys,[63] the curious interest in the description of a loud noise, as that of the moving army,[64] are a few instances of the influence of Ramayana on Asvaghosha's kavyas. It has, however, been hinted by Gurner that a description of the stock topics runs from the Ramayana through the classics. A few more parallels could be traced, as for example, between the women asleep in the palace of Suddhodhana and those in the palace of Ravana.[65] The allusion to the festival of Indra's banner[66] and the frequency with which it occurs, seems to be in direct imitation of its use in Ramayana.[67]

It would thus appear that Asvaghosha was to a great extent indebted to the poet Valamiki. The description of the stock-topics might have been derived from a common source, but the Buddhist poet's reference to the Adikavi, and parallelism which have been traced by scholars, point to his indebtedness to Valamiki. The

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same can be said with reference to Kalidasa in his relations with Asvaghosha.[68] Some scholars, however, suggest that the Buddhist scholar - poet was indebted to Kalidasa, placing him in the first century B.C. This aspect would, therefore, demand fuller consideration.

Asvaghosha and Kalidasa :

A good deal of similarity could be traced between kavyas of Asvaghosha and Kalidasa in terms of themes, anecdotes or prasangas and in lexicography or in the use of words and phrases. This is nothing unusual. The similarity in prasangas is confined to incidents happening in similar circumstances, as for instance, the desertion of Sundari in close analogy to Rati after the immolation of Kama, as a result of Sivas curse. The two ladies lament in the same strain hoping that they would meet their lords some day. Similar is the lamentation of the two dispirited lovers, Nanda and Aja in low spirits. The excursions arranged for the Sakyan prince to divert attention witnessed by the ladies of the town sitting in their balconies and their faces appearing like lotuses stuck on the pavilions, compares favourably with the seventh canto of Kumara Sambhava - describing the marriage procession of Siva. The description of the ladies is almost similar in the latter work.

K.C.Chattopadhaya drew minute references[69] from the works of the two poets with a view to showing similarity in expression. Nanda's discomfiture caused by the desire to move forward to pay reverence to the Buddha, and the attachment for Sundari compelling him to retrace back, like a royal goose left on the waves, is expressed identically in both Saundarananda and in the Kumara

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Sambhava.[70] Some phrases and expression as well remained unchanged in the works of Kalidasa, as for instance, the reference to the mental attitude in exactly similar expression,[71] women having no forbidden place,[72] attitude of defiance,[73] displacement of necklace or garments from the breasts[74] and scores of others collected by the late professor. It is quite likely that a good many might be treated as stock-phrases continuing from poet to poet. Similarities in prasangas expression and even in mental attitude on set occasions made the latter indebted to his predecessor. As Rajasekhara rightly puts it - nastyachaureh Kavijanah - so Kalidasa might have borrowed from Asvaghosha, his predecessor, and not the other way as presumed by Chattopadhya. Kalidasa is placed in the Gupta period and not earlier in the Sunga period.

Asvaghosha and early Buddhist Literature :

Asvaghosha was indebted to early Buddhist literature only in themes. The frame-work of his kavyas, no doubt, is based on certain models taken from the then existing Buddhist literature. The story of Nanda and his conversion might have been based on the Dhammapada or the Nidanakatha in the Jatakas[75] where it is related that Nanda was ordained as a monk by the Buddha, much against his will. The distinguishing feature, however, that the Lord places his howl in Nanda's hand while marriage ceremonies with Kalyani were in progress, and he follows the Tathagata with the howl in his hand while the bride runs after him with tears streaming down her face. In the Saundarananda, the marriage is a fait accompli. Thus, except for Nanda's ordination there is nothing in common. Asvaghosha refers to salvation through yoga[76] for which there is no earlier reference in the strict sense of the term till the emergence of the school of Yogachara.

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Asvaghosha as a Poet :

The Buddhis t scholar wrote his long poems not for the sake of poetry but for some higher consideration - the ideal of salvation, which is above all other things. In him, poetry becomes a hand-maid of religion and philosophy. He appeals to human emotions through his kavyas in which one notices the skilled art of versification, rhetorical embellishments use of charming phrases and idioms, with appropriate similies and metophors. In employing the literary art for a religious purpose, Johnston remarks,[77] 'Asvaghosha is a writer of baffling contrasts ; on the one hand the literary artisan as a story teller, preacher and poet, on the other hand, the scholar anxious to conform with all the rules, and to parade his knowledge. The possession of good qualities implies a liability to the corresponding defects, and among a people who treasured intelligence and learning, it is not surprising to find some who lapses at times like the Buddhist poet into pedantry, for if his matter is excellent, his manner is often discerning'.

Asvaghosha's style is simple, but he is not free from artificial embellishments or alankaras. He is experienced in his art of presentation and the handling of comparisons is his main technique in the execution of his long narrative poems. His fondness for similies and their wide range are unparallel. Romanticism and naturalism equally figure in these poems. In the description of women and their technique in attracting the Sakyan prince, the poet records even the minutest things. In his words, 'the mighty power of the weaker sex is such that even the shellback in water follows obediently his mate like a servant.[78] Further, women delight with their soft voices, charming embellishments, playful intoxica-

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tion, sweet laughter, curving of the eye brows and side-long glance.[79] Skilled in the accessories of love (kamas cha panditah)[80] possessed of coquettish gestures calculated to excite amorous sentiments, women could make even the lust free seers waiver.[81] In the words of Udayin, the purohita's son, lack of courtesy towards women ill-befits one who is young in years and beautiful in person as the Sakyan prince.[82] Humility and compliance alone bind women's heart who would like to be respected with affection.[83] A person is expected to be courteous for that is the value of women, the best ornament; its absence undermines physical beauty like a grove without flowers.[84]

Asvaghosha is equally bitter against women in general. They are compared by him to poisonous creepers, leading to disaster in the end.[85] Honey is on their tongue but poison in their heart.[86] They are considered as the origin of all sins and danger, behaving ignobly and treacherously and skilled in detecting the weakness of others.[87] The poet advises people through the mouth of the Sakyan prince not to place more trust in them than in enemies.[88] To a virtuous person they are masterful as husbands, but submissive as sons to the vicious, behaving greedily with the rich and treating the poor with contempt.[89] There is nothing in this world which they are not capable of doing and even the seers could not immune themselves from licking the dust of passion raised by women.[90] Ultimately the poet suggests that 'no man bitter by that viper of love remains active in life.[91]

The poet seems to have studied the psychology of women, their character and methods of approach. He as well takes notice of faminine beauty and the condition of a disgruntled lover. He compares the deceptive period of youth to a desert which when

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safely crossed, brings great relief.[93] The flush of youth is a target for the god of love and cannot be protected from senses. It is quite likely that the poet's sad experience in personal life might have contributed to his dedication in the service of the Tathagata. The romantic side in Asvaghosha's poems is suggestive of the poet's keen power of observation and his art of presentation.

Nature in Asvaghosha's works :

The Buddhist poet paints nature with the light brush of ornate poetry in the choicest expressions of words. He interprets nature in terms of human passion, trees accentuating the lover's distress or reviving his past heart strings. The lover with a broken heart finds agony more pronounced while he notices the creeper clinging firmly to the mango brough over which it has grown. It laughs at him for his attachment to human beauty which is not firm. Asvaghosha sees nature at its best - The quiet slumber of birds and deer[94] lying in perfect repose, the peacocks rising up[95] in delightful mood, or the vegetable kingdom in its full bloom. This blossoming of the natural kingdom is personified in trees, plants, birds and animals as also in mountains and rivers along with the movements of the clouds with the flushing lights encircling the moon in rainy season. The poet as well notices the approach of winter turning the moon pale in the sky.[96] The description of the moon casting reflection on the rippling water,[97] its beams piercing a rift in a cloud and producing bright light,[98] and the full moon entering the dark night at its close bathing in the rays of the rising sun,[99] are excellent descriptions of nature. So also he notices at another place[100] the young sun rising on the eastern mountain, or climbing to dispel darkness with its lustre.

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Asvaghosha's fondness for lotus is expressed in his similies. In his Buddhacharita he refers to women sitting on the balconies, like lotuses stuck on the pavilions,[101] the lotus-eyed damsels,[102] the pond in which the lotuses have been blown down, or broken by the wind[103] at a river with lotuses enjoyed by a straight row of bees.[104] So also the tears rolling on the cheeks of the ladies in lamentation in the palace are compared to mighty lotuses whipped by the rain.[105] The poet also refers to the Asoka tree as the increaser of lover's sorrow with the bees murmuring as if scorched by fire, and its shoots abashed by feminine touch.[106] He as well compares the tilaka trees embraced by a mango branch to a man in white garments.[107] Nature as well heightens the restlessness of Nanda. The Priyansu tree his mistress's favourite, makes him sob[108] while the sight of the cuckoo sitting on the flower cover crown of a tailaka appeared like the coils of his beloved on her white robe.[109] Asvaghosha portrays nature in relation to human passion, heightening the lover's pangs and mocking at him for his attachment to human beauty.

Johnston considers[110] the Buddhist poet as primitive in art, just as in religion and philosophy. He is noted for his intricacy and elaboration, insistence or symmetry, exposer of the frame-work and his non-functional decorations which are the characteristics of early works. The depth of his feeling and enthusiasm with which the poet presents his poetry is the outcome of his intense devotion to the Tathagata. He exhibits his feelings in plain words without rhetorical and pedantic tricks. He speaks straight from his heart. If analogy is to be found in European poetry, Johnston would like to compare him to Milton as a scholar, equally

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fond of displaying his learning within the limits of an epic.

The Mahavastu :

Literally meaning 'The Great thing' corresponding to the Mahavagga of the Pali Vinayapitaka, this work, according to the Colophor,[111] is based on the text of the Lokottaravadins of the Mahasanghika school. It aims at depicting the life story of the Buddha for the Lokottaravadins who consider the Buddhas as exalted and above the world (lokottara) and accept worldly life only in its external form.[112] The narration is no doubt marred by the intrusion of jumerous Jataka stories and Avadanas, and as such lacks systematic arrangement. The reader has difficulty in picking up the lost thread. It is described as a labyrinth in the absence of coherence between different parts. The stories connected with the Lord are told both in prose and in verse with variations in length.

The Age of the Mahavastu :

The date of this Buddhist text can be suggested only on the basis of the internal evidence alone, in the absence of any reference to it in Chinese texts. The language is in mixed Sanskrit, of course in different style.[113] Despite its being attributed to the Lokottaravada school, it has no reference to the Mahayanist Buddhist mythology, but refers to the ten bhumis.[114] It is therefore likely to have been composed in the transitory period between the decline of Hinayanism and the rise of Mahayanism. The identical pieces in the Mahavastu and the Pali Canonical literature, probably having a common source, suggest the archaic nature of its composition.[115] In this context, Winternitz refers to the Gathas of Khaggavishangsutra,[116] probably earlier than

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those of the corresponding Khaggavishanasutra in the Pali Suttanipata. The Mahayanist feature, as well as some passages which seem to be influenced by the sculptures of the Gandhara art,[117] suggest the period of its composition in the earlier centuries after Christ. The lower limit of the work is proposed on the basis of the reference to the Hunas to the Chinese language and script, and the description of the astrologer as Horapathaka.[118]

It is, however, the cultural data that could be found useful in suggesting its probable date. This work furnishes a new list of trade guilds,[119] different from that of the Jataka, Out of these eighteen guilds, the Samitakara, or the 'wheat flour' one is also mentioned in a record[120] of the Kushana period of the time of Huvishka. Similarly the yantrakaras or 'the makers of engines' are also mentioned in a Nasik record.[121] So also the reference[122] to various types of scripts - Brahmi, Pushkarasari, Greek (Yavanani) and others, and writing on a bhurya leaf[123] are helpful in this context. The reference to the worship of the Brahmanical deities, particularly Siva and Skanda, besides others[124] is in close alignment with the depiction of these two Brahmanical deities on the Kushana coins. Isvara and Mahesvara are also mentioned in the Saddharmapundarika.[125] The Mahavastu as well refers to Vedic sacrifice[126] and the Brahmin priests officiating on these occasions. In this context reference might be made to several yupas - sacrificial pillars, and inscriptions recorded on these, including the Mathura one of the time of Vasishka. It would thus appear that the information provided by the Mahavastu on different aspects is suggestive of its date of composition between the first and the third century A.D.,[127] although Winternitz pushes up the upper limit to the first century B.C. and brings

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down the lower one to the fourth century A.D.

Contents and Relations with other Texts :

The work shows a weak combination of Mahayana doctrines with old legendary forms without any reference to the Mahayana mythology. The life story of the Buddha in agreement with the Nidanakatha does not exhaust the contents of the work. It preserves many old traditions which appear in the Pali canonical literature as well. These traditions are noticed by Winternitz.[128] As the treasure house of the Jatakas, related partly in prose, partly in mixed prose and verse, there is a good deal of identity though there are deviations as well from the old version. A few additions are also made with reference to the glorification of the Bodhisattva - evidently Buddha - for his generosity and sacrificing spirit. The presentation of 80,000 grottos (cave temples) constructed of seven kinds of precious stones to the Buddha of the time,[129] the dedication of his wife and child merely to learn a wise saying,[130] the pious nature of a potter keeping the pots filled with rice and beans for the hungry people,[131] are stories not noticed in earlier works.

The Hinayanist character of the work is evident from its contents which could find parallel in earlier texts, but the Mahayanist features are traced in the reference to the ten Bhumis, the supernatural character of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas in eulogistic hymns.[132] The importance attached to Bhakti or devotion to the Tathagata and the acquisition of endless merit by merely walking around the stupa[133] and worshipping it by making floral offerings are of course some of the Mahayanist features - noticed in literature and art alike.

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Lalitavistara :

This work is regarded as one of the most sacred Mahayanic text[134] (Vaipulyasutra), exhibiting all the features of this school of Buddhism, though originally it was meant for the Sarvastivadins. It narrates in detail the sports of the Buddha, providing a supernatural touch and an exalted character to the hero. The long introductory chapter precedes an equally exhaustive narrative. Its time of composition is probably furnished by Fo-pen-ning-king[135] (A.D. 68), regarded as the translation of the Lalitavistara. The The work was lost long ago. It is equally improbable that Pou-you-king, the biography of the Buddha translated by Dharmaraksha in the year A.D. 308 is a real translation of the text. The Tibetan translation[136] of this text is a later production and so also is the sculptural evidence furnished by the Borodur in Java representing scene from the life of the Tathagata. It is as well proposed that the life story of the Buddha as narrated in the Lalitavistara as well provided the source material for the north-Indian sculptors of Graco-Buddhist art. Thus, art and literature were inter-related and influenced each other.[137] It is suggested by Winternitz[138] that the period of the development of Gandhara art, that is of the first two centuries of the Christian era, is also the period of the earlier Mahayana texts which deal with the Buddha legend.

The Age of Lalitavistara :

The truth about the age of Lalitavistara, as a good source for our knowledge of Buddhism[139] and as one dealing with the popular Buddhism of the earlier period,[140] probably lies in its placement between the two extreme views. The work suggests Mahayanist conceptions as traced in the glorified accounts of the Lord,

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which are missing in earlier Hinayana works. It is of course not free from the influence of earlier Buddhist traditions and ideals, and some of its passages being identical with the Mahavagga. According to Kern,[141] the material of the Mahavaipulyasutra is partly as old as that of any other sacred book of the Buddhists. Exaggerated accounts and miraculous and supernatural elements figure freely in this work. Of course, the account of the Buddha being taken as a boy to the temple of his foster-mother and the statues of all gods rising from their pedestals for salutation, or the account of the first day at school where he surpasses his teachers in showing knowledge of all the scripts, are not noticed in earlier works. So also certain episodes in Chapters XII and XIII are new, and the last Chapter on the glory of the work provides new theme and method of presentation of this Mahavaipulyasutra.

This work is equally of considerable importance for its literary and religious values. The ballads and episodes accord it an epic character while the use of different metres enhance its literary value. Serving as a history of Buddhist religion, it might not be a good source of our knowledge of Buddhism, as presumed by Senart, but its popular side is characterised by emphasis on bhakti or devotion. The presentation of chief events in the life of the Buddha, adorned with miracles and shower of eulogies, is proposed by Levi[142] as a model for Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita. It has been proposed earlier that the well-planned arrangement of the material is in striking contrast to that in texts like the Mahavastu and the Lalitavistara, although it is closer to the latter in subject matter.

Avadanas :

Another form of Buddhist literature associated with this period is the Avadana one. The term interchangeable with the Pali

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Apadana denotes illustrious acts and feats or a glorious performance - though it is commonly employed in the sense of Karmavrittam or Bhutapurvacharitam.[143] The Avadanas relate the story of the present and that of the past with a moral. In the first category it is very much like a Jataka. The Avadanas frequently give a prophecy of the future and serve to explain the present action or karma. White actions, according to the text, bring white fruits, black actions bring black fruits and the mixed ones mixed fruits. Ordinary people are exhorted only to strive only after white actions, and not after those of the other two classes. Thus, one is the maker of his own fate. The higher Buddhist thought and philosophy are not covered by the Avadanas or by the Jatakas. The Bodhisattva's previous births always figure in the Jataka stories, but not necessarily so in the Avadanas.

Avadanasataka :[144]

This text is supposed to be the oldest one, and was rendered into Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. The reference to dinara[145] in the text precludes its placement earlier than A.D. 100. It is a Sanskrit Hinayana text though Buddha worship figures prominently in the legends. There is no trace of the Bodhisattva cult of Mahayana mythology. The work is called Sugata-bhashitan in the colophon at the end. It is divided into ten vargas or decades, each dealing with a specific subject, as for instance, the first and the third sections cover the prophesies (vyakarnani) of future Buddhahood. In the second varga, the story of the present is the main theme, and in the fourth part that of the past is related like some heroic performance in a Jataka. The fifth is somewhat akin to the Petavallhu of the Pali literature.

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Several of the tales relate to ghosts whose sufferings are observed by Moudgalyayana as due to bad deeds. In the sixth varga are stories of men and animals who through pious deeds figure as gods in heaven. In vargas VII-X are described deeds which entitle a person to qualify as an Arhat. The Arhats of Book VII are all Sakyas, in Book VIII these are all women. Book IX refers to men of chaste conduct while those in Book X had formerly done bad deeds and after undergoing sufferings had attained the stage of an Arhat by means of a pious deed.

The title of the work shows that it had a definite plan with tales properly classified and presented on a uniform pattern. Every narrative begins with adoration to the Buddha. The honoured Lord, highly esteemed, honoured and praised by kings, ministers et al, and concludes with the words 'thus spoke the Lord, and with enraptured beats the monks applause the words of the Lord'. The moral of the story is always provided as following - 'So works, the fruits of black deeds in quick black, that of white quite white, that of mixed deeds is mixed. Therefore, give up the black and mixed deeds, and take pleasure only in the quite white deeds'.

Divyavadana :

Literally meaning 'the heavenly stories', this work is a later collection than the Avadanasataka.[146] It is supposed to be connected with both the schools of Buddhism - with a foot in the Hinayana and another in the Mahayana doctrines. The former is evident from the frequent references to canonical texts, such as Dirghagana,[147] Udana,[148] and Sthaviragatha.[149] The narrative also begins and ends exactly in the same way as in the Avadanasataka. The later additions to this work are made in the Mahayana spirit. Thus, Chapter 34 calls it is a Mahayanasutrani and the Shadakshara-

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vidya i.e. Om mani pad hum is mentioned in chapter 33. The style of the work, like that of the Mahavastu, is not uniform and it presents a confused and disconnected account, lacking coherence and unity. The work does not appear to have been completed in one period. The Saradulakarnavadana,[150] one of the most interesting legends, was translated into Chinese in A.D. 265, thereby suggesting its composition much earlier in the second century A.D. It is very likely that several authors were involved in its composition, in different periods. Sulvain Levi puts its date in the second century A.D., while according to Przyluski,[151] the Asokavadana began to take shape about 150-100 B.C. Winternitz, however, suggests that the work as a whole could not have been in existence earlier than the 4th century A.D. Some portions of the work were written in the third or the fourth century A.D., especially those based on the Avadanasataka or the Kalpanamanditika of Kumaralata. The portion dealing with the later Mahayana history was written much earlier probably in the first century A.D. The major portion was composed in the second century A.D.

The Divyavadana drew material from the earlier canonical literature, including the Buddhacharita of Asvaghosha as well as from the Avadanasataka. Huber identified[152] 18 Avadanas with narrations in the Chinese Mulasarvastivadavinaya, while Sylvain Levi[153] added to it a portion of Avadana No. XVII - Mandhata. Relationship is as well traced between this work and the Sutralamkara - the source of three tales concerning Upagupta and Mara, Asoka and Yasas. According to Gawronski, the cycle of legends are based on Asvaghosha's and refers to a stanza occuring in a somewhat corrupt form in the Kunalavadana.[154] Works, forms and passages are quoted by this Polish author suggesting the influence of Asvaghosha's

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kavyas on the compilers of the Divyavadana.

A literary estimate of this work can be found on the basis of its style, composition, arrangement of details along with coherence and unity in presentation. It is no doubt recognised that the work shows a confused and disconnected treatment and lacks unity. There is no systematisation and portions probably written earlier are placed in the end. There is as well disparity in language and style. As pointed out by Oldenburg,[155] there are two distinct styles - an earlier canonical one, and a later style characterised with metres of ornate poetry. The stories are not new but these are presented to meet the needs of the common people and raise their moral standards. The work as well provides cultural data - culled under different headings and found useful as corroborative piece of evidence.

Saddharma-Pundarika :[156]

The most popular work relating to Mahayanism, 'the lotus of the True Law' represents that advanced form of Buddhism of this school which was symbolised with Buddha worship. The cult of the relics and image worship and the dedication of the Buddhist stupas and viharas. It is an exposition of the simple doctrine of deliverance through the vehicle of the Buddha (Buddhayana). Sakyamuni, who is the god above all gods, an infinitely exalted beings, living since countless age in the past, and who will also live in the future as the father of the world, the physician and protector of all creatures who returns every now and then to preach to the deluded ones'. As he pours down the great rain of religion, sounding its drum, raising its banner and lighting the great torch, and blowing the great shell trumpet and beating the

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great drum of the dharma, a ray of light issues forth from the hair between the eye-brows and illuminates eighteen thousand Buddha lands'.

Age & Contents :

The age of this work can be determined to a great extent by the external evidence, namely its translation into Chinese, and the internal one from the work itself. The whole of the Saddharma Pundarika gives an expression of a later phase of Buddhism.[157] The work was first translated into Chinese in A.D. 223. This is not available but there are later translations of Dharmaraksha (A.D. 286), Kumarajiva and that of Jnangupta and Dharmagupta.[158] These translations of the third century A.D. suggest that the work must have been composed at least a century earlier.[159] It is also quoted by Nagarjuna, and it presents a mature form of Mahayana Buddhism. Reference to pictures of the Buddha made of jewels, statues of Tathagata made of wood and metal and in relief and frescoes[160] suggest that the work must have inspired the Buddhist artists.[161] The date of this work might be fixed in the early part of the second century A.D., though some chapters, according to Poussain,[162] might have been written rather earlier.

The contents of this work have been summarised by Kern chapterwise. Serious thoughts are plainly illustrated through parallels with a view to showing that one could attain nirvana only through the mercy of the Buddha. In the parable of the prodigal son[163] who wanders from place to place, Buddha is compared to the wise and wealthy father. Forgetting the past he gradually draws the deluded and misguided one to seek refuge in

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Him, as an equally good father and physician to all.[164] The preachings of the Lord are compared to the rays of the Sun and the moon, spreading all over the world, covering the good and the evil ones alike.[165] The contents also reveal Brahmanical influence emanating from the Bhakti cult and the philosophy of the Upanishads. The similarities between aspects of Buddhism and Brahmanism centres round the personality of the Buddha, helping all those who seek refuge in Him, and secondly the Buddhist Lord representing the highest Brahma or mind. The influence of the Bhagavad Gita is evident in the votary being enjoined to seek refuge in the Lord, as is advised by Krishna to Arjuna in the last chapter of the Bhagavad Gita. The influence of the Upanishads is noticeable in the second aspect, namely the Tathagata representing the highest Brahma or mind.[166]

The Saddharma Pundarika as a literary piece does possess certain characteristics befitting a work of high literary order. Suitable similies and metaphors embellish it. Unlike the Mahavastu, there is systematisation and coherence in the work and its planning. It is concise and free from prolixity though sometimes the similies and parables are spinned out at great length, and sometimes with a good deal of verbosity. The glorification of the Buddha and the text is in immoderate and extravagant terms. Here it is close to the Puranas in spirit. The 'Lotus of the True Law' is like a tank for the thirsty, a fire for those who suffer from cold, a garment for the naked, a mother for the children and a boat for those who ferry, and a torch for the dispelling of darkness.

Sukhavativyuha :

The detailed description of the 'Blessed land' is another

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Mahayana work, translated into Chinese between A.D. 147 and 184.[167] As the date of the translation of the other Sukhavati into Chinese is A.D. 402, the earliest being done by Kumarajiva, it is doubtful if the shorter one belonged to this period. The cultural value of this work is practically nothing, as the description relates to the blessed land 'The Buddhist Utopia' filled with infinitely sweet fragrance.

Milindapanha :

'The Questions of Menandes' has a chequered history. According to Rhys Davids,[168] it was written in northern India at or a little after the beginning of the Christian era, either in Sanskrit or in some north Indian Prakrit, but it was lost in the land of its origin. The work in original seems to have been written, according to Winternitz,[169] in the first century A.D. rather than in the second one. Rhys Davids places its date between A.D. 100 and 200. Buddhaghosha refers[170] to it as an unimpeachable authority on a level with the canonical texts. The Chinese translation of the work, except for the spurious portion, is supposed to have been done between A.D. 317 and 420.[171] The original text was very probably written in the first or second century A.D.[172] The work in its present form furnishes ample material on contemporary society which could serve as a good corroborative piece of evidence. The work seemed to be based or related to early Buddhist literature in some form. Besides Buddhaghosha it is as well quoted as an authority in the Dhammapada commentary. In this context Rhys Davids made an analytical study in his introduction to the translation of this work and took into consideration points of similarity between this work and early Buddhist literature to which the author

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of this work could be indebted. Thus, the author compared the Milindapanha with the Kathavatthu - both being interesting books of controversial apologetics. In his words, 'the difference between the two is one of data, and secondly in the older book the controversy is carried on against members of the some communion, whereas in the latter we have a defence of Buddhism as against the outsider.[173] Despite the Milindapanha being a book of apologetic controversy, it is considered best in point of style and as a masterpiece of prose. The solution of the Milindapanha's authorship awaits clearance till the availability of fresh evidence which could shed light on it, its exact date of composition, its original language and form, and other matters connected with it. On the whole, it can, however, be suggested that the work in its present form should be placed any time between the first and the third century A.D.

In considering the literature of the period under study, roughly from the latter half of the first century A.D. upto the first half of the third century A.D., it has been possible to fix the chronology and date of works settled or nearly ascertained by Winternitz and others. In this context priority is accorded to Asvaghosha and his works, since he was supposed to be a contemporary and close associate of Kanishka. All the works considered in this chapter are in Sanskrit, except for the Milindapanha and they all are related to Buddhism. The authors of these works in general had a foot in Hinayana and another in Mahayana which was equally influenced by the Brahmanical literature, particularly the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads. The date of the individual work could be ascertained by the extent and elements of Mahayanism in it which determines its posterior character. It has not been

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possible to consider Nagarjuna's Madhyamikekarika here, although Kalhana in his Rajatarangini[174] refers to the Bodhisattva Nagarjuna as the only lord of the land in Kashmir during the period of Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. According to Winternitz,[175] once again, this might serve as a good working hypothesis, and nothing more. Moreover, the propagation of Mahayana Buddhism, according to his biography translated into Chinese, was confined to Southern India. These considerations, particularly his date later than the period of the Kushans, as generally accepted, was the reason for his elimination in this study. It has been proposed earlier that the literature of this period was at the service of art and religion or vice-versa, namely these two factors influencing the new trend in literature. Their mutual dependence, however, has to be accepted. A study of contemporary art and religion would no doubt highlight this aspect of culture in the Kushan period.

Central Asian Literature :

The finds of manuscripts by missions of explorations[176] of different nationalities as also in excavations bring out certain interesting facts. Firstly, these manuscripts are primarily concerned with Buddhism of both the schools of the Sarvastivadins and the Mahasanghikas. These include Sanskrit texts and also translations of works in Central Asian languages, like the Kuchean and Khotanese. The number of tongues simultaneously in use for popular or learned purposes was fairly large. It appears that with the establishment of centralised authority of the Kushanas over this vast area of Central Asia touching Meru, Tashkent and Kashgar with base in Northern Indian sub-continent, cultural, commercial and religious contacts were established

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between different regions. The Indian impact on the literary horizon of Central Asia was heightened by the contributions of Indian Buddhist scholars to this region and further to China, as also by visits of savants from these countries to India in search of manuscripts, and pilgrimage to Buddhist religious centres.

It is equally evident from the Central Asian literary finds that in the early centuries of the Christian era two distinct languages were spoken in the North and the South regions.[177] The northern one is named 'Tokhari' by Muller and the southern one 'Nordarish' by Leuman and 'Saka' by Luders, though regionally they could be named Kuchean and Khotanese respectively. There were several other languages in use including three Indian ones, written in an alphabet of Aramaic origin, followed later as the Turkish, the Uighur and the Tibetan. A large number of Chinese texts - both religious and secular have also been recovered from religious centres.[178] The introduction of the Brahmi script in Central Asia might be dated earlier than Kharoshthi.[179] It was used for recording Sanskrit texts and three varieties of its alphabets are traced. The first is a purely Indian variety of the time of the Kushanas and the Guptas. The second and the third ones are developments of later Gupta scripts. The purely Indian Brahmi script is found in various Sanskrit manuscripts - the earliest being the fragments of the drama of Asvaghosha about the middle of the second century A.D. The manuscript contains fragments of the Kalpanamanditika of Kumaralata, written in Gupta characters, seems to be of the first half of the fourth century A.D. The famous Bower manuscript along belongs to the fourth or the fifth century A.D.[180]

The use of Gandhari Prakrit written in Kharoshthi seems to mark the beginning of the introduction of Buddhism and Buddhist

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literature in Central Asia. This is evident from the finds of manuscripts and and also of numerous inscriptions - all in Kharoshthi, which seems to have been introduced in Central Asia earlier than Brahmi. According to H.W.Bailey,[182] Gandhari with a sufficiently wide scope includes the Buddhist literary texts and played an active role in the dissemination of Buddhism and its literature in Central Asia and China. The Dhammapada found in Khotan was written in Kharoshthi. So also the documents on wood, leather and silk from Niyat (Chadota) on the border of the ancient kingdom of Khotan are written in this script. Traces of a fairly good literature in Gandhari and in Kharoshthi script have been found in Central Asia. The earliest Chinese translation of Buddhist texts were conversant with this language as is evident from the Chinese version of Sukhavativyuha (c. 3rd century A.D.). It is suggested that Buddhist texts like Dirghagama rendered into Chinese in A.D. 413 were translated from Gandhari Prakrit. The practice of writing Gandhari Prakrit in Kharoshthi seems to have continued till the sixth century A.D. when Brahmi became popular in Khotan.

The Central Asian manuscript finds have clearly established the use of Sanskrit language by the Buddhists providing authentic canonical literature. The Hinayanis-ts too had the complete Tripitaka in this language. Fragments of the lost canonical text are no doubt traced in Sutrapitaka, Vinayapitaka and Abhidhammapitaka. The four Agamas (A-han in Chinese) translated by scholars of Central Asian origin into Chinese include Dirghagama by Buddhayasasa (A.D. 412-13), the Madhyagama by Sanghadeva, earlier in A.D. 397-98 ; Samyuktagama by Gunabhadra between A.D. 420-7, and Ekottaragama by Dharmanandi in A.D. 384-85. All the four translations were originally from Kashmir which was a

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strong centre of Buddhist learning and its scholars. The collection of the Agamas[183] seems to have been completed in Kashmir before the fourth century A.D. The Sutras forming part of Dirghama and recovered from Central Asia include Sangitasutra which agrees more with its Chinese translation. The Upalusutra from the Madhyamagama equally in agreement with the Chinese translation deals with the doctrine of Karma or retribution. The Sanskrit text was popular in Central Asia with its translation in Kuchean language. So also the Samyuktagama has a quite good many sutras left in Central Asian manuscript finds. These include Pravarana-sutra agreeing with the Chinese translation of Gunavarman. Two other translations of the text were made in Chinese by Dharmakshema (A.D. 266-317) and Dharmabhadra in the 10th century.

The canonical rules embodied in the Vinaya-Pitaka of the Sarvastivada were closely followed and fragments of texts of this work were recovered from the northern parts of Eastern Turkestan. Written in Sanskrit, a complete text of the Pratimoksha-sutra[184] belonging to Sarvastivada Vinaya was discovered by the French Mission in the ruins of Dildw-Aqur at Kucha. The text contains all the sections such as Nidana, Parajika Sanghadesa and agrees literally with its Chinese translation by Kumarajiva in A.D. 404. Another important text entitled Mahaparinirvanasutra[185] belonging to the Mula Sarvastivada vinaya and written in Sanskrit has been restored from a number of fragments discovered from the ruins of Sorchuq near Turfan and of Tumshuq by the German Mission. The Central Asian finds also include Abhidharmapitaka fragments. Others of a few sutras belonging to the Sutrapitaka of Hinayana have also been traced.[186] An important canonical text known as

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the Udanavarga[187] in Sanskrit was found by Pelliot and Grunwedel from Eastern Turkestan. The text is a collection similar to the Prakrit Dhammapada found in the Khotan area.[188]

The finds of Mahayana sutras and fragments as also Pothis represent a new stratum in the history of Sanskrit Buddhist literature in Central Asia. The most important Mahayanist work is the Saddharmapundarika or 'the Lotus of True Law'. Its earliest translation in Chinese is that of Dharmaraksha (A.D. 286), a Yueh-chi scholar from Kan-Su. The next is that of Kumarajiva (A.D. 400-2), the famous scholar monk of Kucha who was taken as a prisoner to China where he translated several Buddhist works into Chinese. The third translation is that of Jnanagupta and Dhammagupta (A.D. 601). A number of fragments of this work were found at different sites in Central Asia. The 'Lotus' clearly affairs the multiplicity of vehicle, or various ways of teaching the law, and also the eternity of the Buddha. The next Mahayanist work of importance and popularity is the Prajnaparamita,[189] or 'transcedental knowledge'. This name is accorded to an earlier literature consisting of treatise on the doctrine of Sunyata of varying length. The Prajnaparamitas belong to the earliest Mahayana-sutra of great reverence and importance. Being in the nature of philosophical treatises they talk of six perfections (paramitas) of a Bodhisattva, finally aiming at the highest one called 'wisdom'. This wisdom consists of the knowledge of 'Sunyata' 'emptiness' i.e. the unsubstantiality of phenomeno.[190] A Prajnaparamita was already translated into Chinese as early as A.D. 179. In Central Asia a few fragments of the Prajnaparamitas have been found. Those of the Ashtadasahasrika Prajna-paramita[191] comprising of nine folios were found at Khadlik belong to the seventh-eighth centuries A.D. The Svarnaprabhasa-

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sutra - literally meaning the 'splendour of Gold' is partly philosophical and ethical with many legends. It praises love towards all beings and stresses on the confession of sins. The doctrine of Sunyata is equally developed in a full chapter (VII). Fragments of this work were found in Central Asia.[192] Its Chinese translators were Dharmakshema (412-13 A.D.), Paramartha and his pupils (552-557) and I-tsing (705). Other finds include fragments from Ratnadhvaja-sutra,[193] Ratnasrisutra[194] and Bhadrapalisutra[195] - all in upright Gupta character. The Dharanis or 'protective spells' constitute a large and important part of Mahayanist literature. According to Saddharma-Pundarika,[196] the dharanis are taught for the protection, safety and shorter of the preaches. The Prajna-Paramita-sutras in their shortest form were used as Dharanis. The growth of the Dharani literature might be placed between the fourth and eighth century A.D. The Dharani was popular in China between A.D. 650-750.

Among the non-canonical texts in Sanskrit found in Central Asia might be listed the poetical works of the two great Buddhist poets - Asvaghosha and Matricheta. The two kavyas of the former - Buddhacharita and Saundarananda are well-known. A fragment of the Buddhacharita from Turfan shows that the text was studied by the Buddhist monks of Central Asia.[197] No fragment of the second kavya of Asvaghosha was found in Central Asia, but a third one Sariputraprakarana.[198] The earliest specimen of Sanskrit drama was discovered in the Turfan region. Asvaghosha is also credited with the authorship of another work, the Sutralankara,[199] preserved in Chinese translation of Kumarajiva, as also a philosophical work entitled Sraddhotapada-Sastra - which too is preserved in Chinese translation.[200] The German Mission discovered the poetical work

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of Asvaghosha - the Sutralankara. The colophon of the Turfan manuscript, however, ascribes this work to Kumaralata.

The Kalpanamanditika[201] is a collection of pious legends on the pattern of the Jatakas and the Avadanas, and they are told in prose and verse in the style of ornate poetry. It contains old legends and parables while others breathe the spirit of Mahayanism or atleast Buddha worship. Many of the stories in the Kalpanamanditika[202] are taken from the canon of the Sarvastivadins and the teachers of this school are as well honoured. King Kanishka as the ruler of the past appears in two narrations. It also mentions the two epics - Mahabharata and Ramayana and confutes the philosophical doctrines of Sankhya and Vaiseshika, and religious views of the Brahmanas and Jains. It also contains references to scripts, art and painting. Kumaralata further described in Chinese tradition as a 'master of comparisons' (drishtanta) as also its founder (drishtantika). The text is described by Levi to be a new edition of the Sutralankara of Asvaghosha.[203]

Matricheta was another Buddhist scholar of eminence whose hymns - the fragments of the poems - were brought to light in Central Asia both in Sanskrit original as well as in Tokharian translation. He is supposed to be an old contemporary of Asvaghosha on the basis of his 'Maharaja Kanukalekha' which has come down to us in Tibetan language. His most famous hymns are - Chatuh-Sataka-Stotra - the hymn of the four-hundred verses, and the Satapancha-satika, the hymn of the one hundred and fifty verses. Fragments of both these were found among Central Asian manuscripts.[204]

Among other works of literary nature and non-canonical in character may be mentioned Aryasura's Jatakamala.[205] Its manuscripts have been found at Murtuq and Toyuq. It resembles in style the

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Kalpanamanditika, and retells old legends in ornate, elegant language in kavya style - more artistic than artificial. It contains 34 Jatakas, like the 35 Jatakas of the Chariyapitaka, intended to illustrate the 'Paramitas' or 'perfections of a Bodhisattva'.

The Indian Buddhist texts are supposed to be amplified in Central Asia at the hands of local scholars who might have been Indian immigrants or had their education at centres of learning in India. The Buddhist literature in the course of its migration from India to China assumed some new aspects in Central Asia. In this context, the famous monasteries and their dons seemed to have played an effective role for preservation and propagation of Buddhist canonical literature as also its reconstitution. The patronage extended by the rulers of states in Central Asia, some of whom with Indian names like Vijayakirti, Vijayasambhava etc. of Khotan ; Haripushpa, Suvarnapushpa of Kucha ; Indrajune, Chandrajune etc. of Agnidesa (Karasahr), was equally noteworthy. Both Sanskrit language and Buddhism received royal support. Works on Sanskrit metrics and grammar Chandovichitti, and Kantara are supposed to have been in use in the northern area of Chinese Turkestan. These were no doubt later productions unconnected with the Kushana period, or even of the Gupta times. So also are the medicinal texts to which reference has already been made. Besides the Bower manuscript, the Siddhasara and Jivakapustaka may be quoted in this context.

In a survey of Buddhist literature in Central Asia, with particular reference to that which could possibly be associated with the period of the Kushanas, reference has been made to the finds from Chinese Turkestan as well as from the western region

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comprising of the former Soviet Union part of Central Asia. There has also been a brief notice of the languages represented in manuscripts, fragments and inscriptions. The number of tongues simultaneously in use for general as well as for religious purposes was fairly large. The writing material included palm leaves, barch, plates of wood or bamboo, leather and paper. Numerous Sanskrit writings all dealing with religious or quasi-religious subjects, such as medicine and grammar have been found among the literary relics. The Buddhist literature, like its architecture, represents several periods or stages, distinguished by their contents, scripts and find spots. The earliest one covers fragments of Sanskrit agamas found at Turfan, Tun-huang and in the Khotan area, followed by remnants of the dramas and poems of Asvaghosha from Turfan, the Pratimoksha of the Sarvastivadins from Kucha and numerous versions of the anthology called Dharmapada or Udana. Its Prakrit version found in the neighbourhood of Khotan, and fragments in Tokharian and Sanskrit are supposed to represent 'the canon as it existed in the epoch of Kanishka, representing the old stratum. The new one includes Mahayanistic sutras either written or re-edited in Central Asia. The popularity of Prajna-Paramita, the Saddharma-Pundarika and the Suvarnaprabhasha is evident from finds of their fragments or part manuscripts from Central Asia. The contribution of Buddhist scholars from Central Asia in the literary production of these works has been recorded in the context of their translations into Chinese. This could prove helpful in settling the dates of such scholars and their works. On the whole it can be proposed that literary activities appeared to be in full swing in Central Asia from the beginning

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of the second to about the fifth century A.D. Scholars from Kashmir went to Central Asia and were engaged in translating Buddhist literature there as also later on in China. This region was as well the repository of vast amount of Buddhist canonical texts - in original as also in translation which became available to votaries of learning.

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FOOTNOTES

1. History of Sanskrit Literature (HSL), p. 55.

2. Bruchstuche Buddhisticher Dramen (1911) ; SBAW. 1911. p. 388 ff; See also Konow - Indische Dramen p. 50. On Asvaghosha in gneral see, Levi in JA. 1892, Ser. 8. tome xix p. 201 ff ; 1908, 8.10, and xii p. 57 ff ; Anesaki in ERE.I. 1909 p. 159 ; F.W.Thomas Kavindravachana Samucchaya Bib. India 1912. p. 21 ff. A purely legendary biography of Asvaghosha was translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva between 401 and 409 A.D., published in extracts by Wassilfew. Der Budhismus, St. Petersburg. 1860, p. 231 ff.; Keith. History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. ff. and Sanskrit Drama, pp. 90 ff. Winternitz : History of Indian Literature, Vol. II. pp. 256 ; Johnston : Introductions to Buddhacharita and Saundarananda ; Nariman : History of Sanskrit Buddhism ; and B.C.Law : Asvaghosha.

3. The Sanskrit text was edited by Cowell in 1893 ; and translated by him in SBE. Vol. 19, and by Johnston about forty years later. It has also been translated into German (Cappeller, 1922 and Schmidt 1924), into Italian by C.Formichi 1912, and in Hindi and Bengali. Critical restoration of the text and explanations have also been provided by several scholars - Occidental and Oriental, as for example, Bohtlingk, Keilhorn, Speyer, Finot, Luders, Joglekar, Gawronski, Gurner and Johnston. References to these contributions are given by Winternitz, Keith, Nariman and B.C.Law in their works. We gather from the words of I-tsing that he knew the Buddhacharita in the form in which it appeared in Chinese translation (P'ou-Yao-King) translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.D. by Dharmaraksha, and translated by Beal. Op.cit. According to Rhys Davids (JRAS. 1901) p. 405, this Chinese work was not a translation of Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita at all. The Tibetan version is supposed to be more accurate than the Chinese one, though it does not reproduce at least the first canto. (Leumann WZKT. 7. 1893. p. 193 ff).

4. Introduction p. xiv.

5. R.G. Bhandarkar : JBBRAS. XX. pp. 312 ff ; R.D.Banerji : The Age of Imperial Guptas. p. 42 ; K.P.Jayaswal : JBORS. 1930. pp. 41 ff.

6. According to the Chinese sources, Asvaghosha was the spiritual adviser and Charaka was the medical adviser of King Kanishka. cf. Levi : JA. 1896. s. 9. Tome VIII. p. 447 ; Winternitz : Op.cit p. 257 n.

7. Ref. No. 3 for Bibliography.

8. This poem was discovered by H.P. Sastri and edited by him. Bib. Ind. Calcutta. 1910. A critical edition with notes was published by E.H. Johnston (Oxford 1928), followed by an English translation, sometime later. It has also been translated into Hindi and Bengali. Critical studies of this work were made by Sastri, Thomas, Baston, La Vallee, Poussin, Gawronski, Bultzsch, and Gurner. Winternitz agrees with Hultzsch in assuming that Asvaghosha wrote his Saundarananda

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first, and Buddhacharita afterwards. (ibid. p. 262 n).

9. ii. 240, iii. 45.

10. Keith (HSL) p. 56 ; Winternitz. Op.cit. HP. Sastri BI 1910 ; Baston. JA. 1912. 1 pp. 79 ff ; Hultzsch. ZDMG. lxxii ff. ZDMG. lxxii ff. Gawronski : Studies about the Sansk. Buddha Lit. Op. 56 ff.

11. Takakusu p. 152 ff.

12. As against this view - see IHQ. II. pp. 657 ff.

13. Budh. Char. III. 16.

14. ibid. III. 19-20.

15. Raghu. VII. 5-12.

16. Budh.Char. IV. 62 ff.

17. Chapter III.

18. HSL. p. 58

19. Studies about the Sanskr. Buddh. Lit. pp. 27 ff.

20. Full references from the Pali literature, and the story of this half-brother of the Buddha are given in Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. II. pp. 10-12.

21. XVII. 23.

22. XVII. 7

23. XVIII. 59

24. Konow : Das Indische Drama. Berlin. 1920. 50 ; for the fragments see Luders : Bruchstucke buddhistischer Dramen (1911) ; SBAW. 1911, pp. 388 ff ; Keith : Sanskrit Drama, pp. 80 ff.

25. Keith : Op.cit p. 83.

26. Budh.Char. Intro. p. xviii.

27. JRAS. 1925 p. 501.

28. Mara and Buddha, p. 161 ff. cf. Buber. BEFEO. iv. 414 f.

29. Op.cit. pp. 46-7.

30. Bibliothica Indica No. 1309, pp. 25-7

31. Der Buddhism. II. p. 484.

32. Johnston. Introduction, p. xxii.

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33. ibid. p. xxiii.

34. Budh.Char. I. 43.

35. ibid. iv. 73 ; R.V. iv. 10.33 ; Mahav. III. 110.

36. Budh.Char. iv. 78 ; Saun. II. 53 ; Mahav. I. 75.

37. Budh.Char. I. 42.

38. Sau. vii. 41 ; Mahav. I. 95.

39. Budh.Char. I. 45 ; Mahav. xii. 327.

40. ibid. xi. 31 ; Saun. ix. 20.

41. ibid. XI. 18 ; ibid VIII. 44.

42. ibid. IV. 79 ; ibid. X. 56.

43. Saun. XIII. 20 ; Bhag. Gita II. 58.

44. Saun. xiii. 40 ; ibid. II. 70.

45. Gawronski : Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature ; B.C.Law : Asvaghosha, pp. 47 ff. According to Johnston, the influence of an early version of Valamiki's Ramayana is to be sought, in language, ideas, similies and other rhetorical figures. See also Gurner : Some textual notes on Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita. JASB. 1926.

46. Budh.Char. vi. 36.

47. ibid. VII. 83 ; RII. 57-59.

48. ibid. VIII. 89 ; Ram. II. 64.

49. ibid. VIII. 81.

50. Budh. Char. IX. 9.

51. ibid. IX. 25

52. ibid. IX. 69

53. ibid. IX. 77

54. ibid. VIII. 53 ; R. II. 12.95-98.

55. ibid. VIII. 43 ; R. II. 58.18

56. ibid. II. 16 ; R. I. 63.

57. ibid. VIII. 31 ; Saun. I. 8 ; R. I. 1-9.

58. ibid. VII. 14-18 ; R. III. 6-5.

59. R. IV. 10 ; Saun. vi. 13 ff.

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60. R. IV. 9.59 ; Saun. VI. 28.

61. R. II. 57.6 ; Budh. Char. VIII. 52.

62. Budh. Char. VI. 53 ; R. II. 57.

63. ibid. XIII. 9 ; R. VI. 59.23.

64. ibid. XIII. 52.

65. ibid. V. 47-63 ; R. V. 10-30-49.

66. ibid. I. 63 ; VII. 73 ; Saun. III. 25 ; IV. 46.

67. II. 74.36 ; Gawronski. Op. cit. p. 30.

68. The theory that Kalidasa flourished in the Gupta Age is now generally accepted and is supported by various arguments, viz. that he borrowed from Asvaghosha and Vatsyayana's Kama-sutra and revised Setubandha of the Vakataka king Pravarasena II, that his works contain veiled allusions to the names of Gupta Emperors, that he knew of the Huna invasion etc. (Classical Age p. 303). For an attempt to justify the 1st century B.C. theory, see K.C.Chattopadhyaya - Allahabad University Studies Vol. II, pp. 80 ff; K.M.Shembhavanekar, Journal University of Bombay 1, 4 pp. 232-42. C.K.Raja denies Kalidasa's association with Vikramaditya and makes him a contemporary of king Agnimitra (IHQ. XVIII. 138.)

69. Allahabad University Studies - Vol. II. pp. 80 ff.

70. Saun. IV. 42 ; Kum. V. 85

71. ibid. XVI. 84 ; Megh. V. 33.

72. ibid. VIII. 44 ; Raghu. V. 64.

73. ibid. X. 20 ; Kum. I. 59.

74. ibid. X. 36 ; Kum. V. 84.

75. Harward Oriental Series (HOS) Vol. 28, p. 219 ; Fausboll I.

76. Saun. V. 32 - asthaya yogam parigamya tatvam.

77. Johnston : Introduction, p. xxxviii.

78. Budh. Char. IV. 50.

79. ibid. II. 31.

80. ibid. II. 32.

81. ibid. IV. 12.

82. ibid. IV. 66.

83. ibid. IV. 68.

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84. ibid. IV. 70.

85. Saun. VIII. 31.

86. ibid. VIII. 35.

87. ibid. VIII. 32.

88. ibid. VIII. 33.

89. ibid. VIII. 38.

90. ibid. VIII. 40.

91. ibid. VIII. 45.

92. ibid. VIII. 56.

93. Budh.Char. X. 37.

94. ibid. VI. 2.

95. ibid. VII. 5.

96. Saun. VI. 90.

97. Budh.Char. III. 45.

98. ibid. V. 86.

99. Saun. V. 53.

100. Budh.char. III. 19.

101. Budd. III. 19.

102. ibid. IV. 36.

103. ibid. V. 62.

104. ibid. V. 49.

105. ibid. VIII. 71.

106. ibid. IV. 48.

107. ibid. IV. 46.

108. Saun. VII. 6.

109. ibid. VII. 7.

110. Johnston. Introduction. p. xcv.

111. The text was edited by Senart in 3 Vols. Paris 1882-1897 with detailed surveys of the contents in the Introductions. A survey of the contents is also given by Rajendra Lal Mitra

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in his Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, pp. 115-161 ; and also by B.C.Law in his work Mahavastu - two parts. It has been translated by Jones in English 3 Vols. See also Poussain in ERE. VIII. 328 ff ; HP Sastri in IHQ. 1925, p. 202 ff ; Barth in Revue de l'histirie des Religions, Paris. II. 1885, 160 ff; 42, 1900, 51 ff. and Journal des Savants. 1899, 450 ff ; Windisch : Die Komposition des Mahavastu, ASGW. xxvii, 1909, 467-511 ; Winternitz : History of Indian Literature, Vol. II. pp. 239 ff.

112. Vol. I. p. 159.

113. Oldenberg. ZDMG. 52. p. 633.

114. Vol. I. p. 76.

115. Op.cit. II. p. 247.

116. I. 351 ff.

117. Foucher : L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara I, p. 622.

118. III. p. 178.

119. III. p. 442.

120. EI. XXI and p. 55.

121. Maha. III. p. 443 ; Luders List No. 1137.

122. I. p. 135.

123. II. p. 82.

124. I. p. 245.

125. XVIII. 59.

126. II. p. 90.

127. Keith in his Foreword to Law's - A Study of the Mahavastu - Supplement, cf. Sastri - IHQ. I. 1925 p. 205. He places the earliest limit in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.

128. History of Indian Literature. II. p. 209 ff.

129. I. pp. 54 ff.

130. ibid. pp. 91 ff.

131. ibid. pp. 317 ff.

132. ibid. pp. 163 ff.

133. II. p. 362.

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134. First edited by Rajendralal Mitra in Bib. Ind. 1877 ; later on by S. Lefmann, Halle 1902 and 1908 ; Weller : Zum Lalita-vistara Leipzig. 1915 ; English translation by Mitra (Bib. Ind. 1881-1886) as far as Chapter XV, partially translated (I-V) in German by Lefmann, and in French by Foucaux in AMG (Paris 1884). Winternitz. Op.cit ; II. p. 248 ff.

135. Cf. Beal - The Romantic Legend of Sakya-Buddha from the Chinese Sanskrit, London 1875. It is an abridged transtion from the Chinese of the Abhinishkramana Sutra, which has not come down in Sanskrit, but was translated into Chinese between A.D. 280 and 312 by Nie-Tao-Tchen, and in 587 A.D. by Jinagupta (Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 248 n. quoting Bagchi - Le Canon Bouddhique.

136. Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 254.

137. Foucher. L'art . Vol. I. p. 324.

138. Winternitz. Op. cit. p. 255.

139. Sennart : Essai sur la Legende du Buddha, p. xxxi ; Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 255.

140. Poussain. Bouddhisme. pp. 37 ff.

141. Kern. SBE. 21. pp. xi ff.

142. JA. 1892. s. 8 p. xix. Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 250.

143. On the Avadana in general see Burnouf : Introduction a l' histoire du Bouddhisme, p. 207 ff ; Feer in the introduction to his translation, and Speyer in the foreword to his edition of the Avadana Sataka, Vol. II, Winternitz. History of Indian Literature. II. p. 277 ff. Keith. History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 64 ff.

144. Edited by J.S. Speyer (Bibliotheca Budhica. III) St. Petersberg 1902-1909 ; Translated into French by Feer (Annals du Musee Guimet (Paris) 1897. Some sections were translated by him in JA. 1878-1884). Winternitz. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II. p. 279 ff. Keith. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 65 ff.

145. LXXVII, Vol. I, p. 77 ; LXXXVIII, p. 102.

146. Edited by E.B.Cowell and R.A.Neil, Cambridge 1886. Long passages from it were translated by Burnouf in his "Introduction a l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indian; notes on the text by Speyer in WKM 16, 1902, 103 ff, 340 ff ; Studies in the Divyavadana by James R. Ware. JAOS 48, 1929, 159 ff ; Rajendralal Mitra - Sans.Budd.Lit. from Nepal pp. 304-316. Winternitz. History of Indian Literature. II. pp. 284 ff.

147. p. 333. 12.

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148. p. 99.3.

149. p. 35.1.

150. Winternitz. Op.cit. II. p. 285.

151. Keith- (quoting Przyluski) Op.cit. p. 66.

152. BEFEO 4. 1904. pp. 709 ff ; 6. 1906. pp. 1 ff ; cf. Speyer - Avadanasataka - II Preface pp. XVI ff ; also Gawronski : Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, pp. 49 ff.

153. Les elements de formation du Divyavadana in Toung Pao S. II Vol. VIII. 1907. pp. 105 ff.

154. DIV. pp. 408-45 ; Budh.Char. III. 4-5.

155. ZDMG. 52. p. 638.

156. Edited by Kern and Bunyu Nanjio. Bibliotheca Buddhica. X. St. Petersberg. 1908, translated into French (Le Lotus de la bonne loi) by E. Burnouf, Paris. 1852, into English by Kern in SBE. Vol. 21. 1884. According to Anesaki (Buddhist Art in its Relations to Buddhist Ideals. 1914. p. 15 ff) - Lotus is a symbol of purity and perfection because it grows out of mud but is not delined - hence this title.

157. Kern. SBE. 21. pp. X ff.

158. Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 304 ; cf. Bagchi. La Canon Bouddhique. I. pp. 87, 150 etc. The Central Asian fragments of this work were published by Hoernle and Luders in Manuscript Remains pp. 132 ff. 138 ff., also Poussain. JRAS. 1911 p. 1067 ff. Bendall ascribes a Nepalese MS of this work which he discovered to the 4th or 5th century (JRAS. 1901. p. 124 note).

159. Elliot- Hinduism & Buddhism. II. p. 52.

160. II. 86.

161. Anesaki. Op.cit.

162. ERE. II. p. 259 ff.

163. Chap. III SBE 21. p. 47 ff.

164. Chap. V. pp. 129 ff.

165. Ibid. pp. 119 ff ; 122 ff ; 128 ff.

166. Winternitz thought it risky to assume that "The Lotus" was directly influenced by the Krishna-cult, the Vedanta and the Bhagavad Gita, as assumed by Faruqhar (Outline of the Rel. Lit. of India, p. 114); Kern was the first scholar

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to notice similarity between the Buddhist and Brahmanical outlook centring round the personality of the Buddhist Lord, capable of helping all creatures representing the highest mind or Brahma. Preface SBE. 21. p. xxvi.

167. Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 311 ff.

168. ERE. VIII. pp. 63 ff.

169. Op.cit p. 173.

170. SBE. 35 p. XIV.

171. Spect et Levi - Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists. IX. London. 1892. I. p. 518 ff. In a Chinese Buddhist Avadana work of 472 A.D. the introductory book of the Milindapanha, embellished with anecdotes, appears as an independent story, which has the appearance of a late echo of the old dialogue (Takakusu JRAS. 1896. pp. 1-21 quoted by Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 177 n.

172. Ed. by Trenckner, London. 1880 translated by Rhys Davids in SBE Vols. 35 and 36 into German (only the genuine parts) by F.O. Schrader (Berlin 1908) cf. Rhys Davids in ERE VIII. pp. 631 ff ; Winternitz. Op.cit. pp. 174 ff.

173. SBE. 35. p. xxxix.

174. I. 173.

175. Op.cit.

176. For the history of exploration of Central Asia, particularly Chinese Turkestan, see. J.K. Dabbs- History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan, London, 1971 ; See also Rudolf Hoernle : Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan. London. 1916.

177. Hoernle in the General Introduction to his work on Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan discussed this question in detail, taking into account the views of others. See also Eliot (Hinduism & Buddhism, Vol. III. p. 191) ; Luders : 'Die Sakas und die Nordarische Sprache' ; Sitzungsber de kon Preuss Akad. 1913 ; Sten Konow. Goffing Gel Anz. 1912. pp. 551 ff ; Hoernle. JRAS. 1910. pp. 837 ff; 1283 ff ; 1911. pp. 202 ff ; 447 ff. Bagchi. India and Central Asia (Op.cit. pp. 152 ff). Sylvain Levi. Fragments des Texts Koucheans ; Puri- Buddhism in Central Asia. Op.cit. pp. 179 ff.

178. For the finds of Chinese manuscripts from Central Asian sites, see Stein. Innermost Asia. p. 358, 449, 636, 647 et al ; Serindia. III. Appendix A ; Pelliot. BEFEO. 1908. pp. 500 ff.

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179. This statement might be true in the context of Kucha and Karasahr finds. In the southern region, Brahmi supplants Kharoshthi. The finds of Asvaghosha's dramas in Brahmi Sanskrit from Turfan area suggest its terminus a quo. The manuscript is in Kushan character and might be placed about the middle of the second century A.D. (Puri. Op.cit. p. 185. n. 27).

180. Goshal. Greater India. Op.cit. p. 258.

181. It is known after Gandhari, and agrees closely with the language of the post-Asokan inscriptions. It differs from other varieties of Prakrit, consequent to two foreign influences viz. Iranian and that of the native language of Krorania. See Bailey. Gandhari BSOAS. Vol. XI. part 4 pp. 764 ff. Brough. J. The Gandhari Dhammapada. London. 1961.

182. Op.cit. p. 764.

183. The fragments of the Agamas are probably the oldest of the canonical texts discovered in Central Asia. The Agamas were Buddha's 'vachanas' or 'sayings of the Buddha'. The compilation of the Agamas might have been done in the time of Kanishka. A detailed account of the Agama translations is given by Nanjio in his Catalogue (Op.cit) pp. 127 ff. A summary of the Agama literature finds is given in Puri. Buddhism in Central Asia. pp. 189 ff.

184. Nanjio. Op.cit. Nos. 1110 p. 245 and 1160 p. 255. The ten primary commandments are called Pratimoksha. For a fuller reference to the finds of the manuscripts of this work - see Puri. Op.cit p. 176 n. 3.

185. Bagchi. Op.cit. pp. 96-7. It corresponds to the Pali. Mahaparinibhana Sutra or great lecture on the complete Nirvana, a continuous account of the last days of the Buddha. (See also - Winternitz. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II. p. 236 and n.).

186. Bagchi. Op.cit. p. 97.

187. It was compiled by Dharmatrata who, according to Taranatha, is supposed to have lived in Kanishka's days. (Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 23).

188. There are several translations of this text into Chinese. (Nanjio. Op.cit No. 134, p. 44). It was translated by Kumarajiva A.D. 384-417 ; and earlier by Dharmarakshita A.D. 265-316, and later on by Jnangupta and Dharmagupta A.D. 601. Several manuscripts and fragments of this work are noticed in Appendix F by Rudolf Hoernle containing the Inventory List of Manuscripts in Sanskrit Khotanese and Kuchean.

189. For the finds of Manuscript remains of this Buddhist Mahayanist text, see Stein : Serindia, pp. 814, 914, 1432 50.

190.

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190. The earliest translation of the Dasasahasrika prajnaparamita was done by Leu-ki-Klan (Lokaraksha) of the Eastern Han dynasty (Nanjio No. 5 p. 4) followed by several others including Kumarajiva (ibid No. 6 p. 5) in A.D. 408 and later on too.

191. Fragments of this work were edited by Sten Konow and published as a 'Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 69, Calcutta, 1942. According to Winternitz, it is the earliest of these writings which was on the one hand expanded into larger work and its contents are condensed in the shorter texts. (Op.cit. p. 316 n. 6).

192. Hoernle. Op.cit. p. 108.

193. Hoernle. Op.cit. p. 100 ; Stein. Serindia. III. p. 1432.

194. ibid. p. 116 ; ibid. 1439.

195. ibid. p. 88 ; Nanjio. Op.cit. No. 75 p. 31.

196. Kern. Op.cit. p. 99 ; Winternitz. Op.cit. pp. 380 ff.

197. Bagchi. Op.cit p. 100 ; Serindia. I. p. 163 ; III. p. 1437 ; Winternitz. Op.cit. pp. 258-265. The Buddhacharita called Fo-Sho-hing-tsan-king was translated into Chinese between A.D. 414 and 421 by Dharmaraksha and translated into English by Cowell in SBE, Vol. 49.

198. Only portions of the original work have been found. It is in Sanskrit and the dialogues are in Prakrit. Keith : The Sanskrit Drama (London) Rep. 1959. pp. 80 ff.

199. Fragments of this work were found in Central Asia. Its authorship is controversial. The Chinese translation by Kumarajiva (c. A.D. 405) ascribes it to Asvaghosha (Nanjio No. 1182 p. 261).

200. Nanjio No. 1249 p. 274 translated by Shikhanand A.D. 695-700 and earlier by Paramartha (No. 1250 ibid).

201. Luders. Bruchstucke des Kalpanamanditike des Kumaralata - Leipzig 1926 ; French translation by Huber. Paris. 1908.

202. Winternitz. Op.cit p. 269.

203. Bagchi. Op.cit p. 101 ; Levi. JA. 1896. t. VIII. pp. 444 ff.

204. Hoernle. Manuscript Remains - Op.cit. pp. 58 ff and 75 ff.

205. Edited by Kern in Harvard Oriental Series. I. 1891 ; translated by J.S. Speyer in Sacred Book of the Buddhists, Vol. I. 1895 ; Winternitz. Op.cit. p. 273.

206. Puri. Op.cit. p. 206.

207. ibid. p. 212.

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CHAPTER XI

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The Kushana period is noted for its atmosphere of catholicity and toleration. The eclectic attitude of the ruling monarchs over an empire comprising of men of different nationalities and religions had generated a feeling of peaceful co-existence among the people. The titles assumed by these rulers from Kujula Kadphises to Vasudeva, and the deities depicted on them on their coins of gods and goddesses from different religious pantheons are suggestive of the religious and spiritual values cherished by these rulers and their impact on the subject people. Kujula Kadphises calls himself Sachadhramasthitasya = Satyadharmasthitasya or steadfast in true law, thus provoking the question what law or religion ? The figure of Buddha depicted on his coins, suggest his leaning towards the religion of the Tathagata. His son and successor Wima Kadphises takes the title Sarvalokesvara Mahesvara - the Lord of all the regions and a devotee of Mahesa or Siva who figures prominently on his coins with his Nandi Bull. Kanishka boldly subscribed to the Vedic concept of 'Sages name variously that is one' (ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti) and, as such, portrayed figures of different divinities on his coins.

This spirit was endorsed by his successor Huvishka in whose time Brahmanism and Brahmanical deities were more prominent. Reference has been made to endowment by a foreign lord from Balkh for the exclusive use of the Brahmins, and Saiva divinities or Siva's sons - Skanda, Kumara and Visakha - as well figure on his coins. Vasudeva, as his name suggests was a Hinduised Kushana and his coins have only figures of OHPO = Vamesa or Siva and Nana = Amba. The Later Kushanas emulated Vasudeva with only Siva and

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Nana depicted on their coins. Thus, one notices the trend from Buddhism to Eclecticism and ultimately leading to ascendancy of Brahmanism in the religious attitude of these Kushana monarchs. This might be purely a personal conviction of these rulers which they never openly manifested. The epigraphic records of this period provide ample material for studying the religious conditions in India, particularly relating to Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism and the cult of Naga worship. The literature also provides evidence on several aspects of religious life including materialism - the cult of the Charavakas.

Brahmanism :

The term connotes that socio-religious order which recognises the supremacy of the Brahmins who receive handsome dakshina or fees in the performance of sacrificial rites. The acceptance of Brahmanical hierarchy and the performance of sacrifices were no doubt the main planks for the attack by the Sramana religious preachers. They condemned Brahmanism for its emphasis on caste distinction and slaughter of animals (jivahatya) which was especially banned by Asoka through State edicts. It was, therefore, felt that Brahmanism received a set back with the rise of sramana religion, and its revival had to await the ascendancy of the Guptas to power. This suggestion was first made by R.G.Bhandarkar[1] and later on endorsed by R.D.Banerji.[2] The latter pointed out that the principal work of the Brahmins in the fifth and sixth century A.D. was to reform Hinduism or the orthodox Brahmanical religion from the state of torpor into which it had fallen during the long rule of the barbarians. He also referred to the rise of Northern Buddhism during the reign of Kanishka and the creation of a pantheon

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of superior and inferior deities which had constituted that religion into a very strong rival of orthodox Buddhism. These statements relating to the history of Brahmanism in the context of Buddhism and that religion-oriented foreign rulers, however, demand close scrutiny and proper consideration.

As regards the first one for crediting the Gupta monarchs as the revivers and renovators of Brahmanism, sufficient information was first provided by D.R.Bhandarkar[3] who proposed that Brahmanism was revived with the accession of the Brahmin Sunga monarch Pushyamitra, long before the Guptas, and this revival stage continued till the time of the Satavahana Gautamiputra who performed Rajasuya Yajna once and Asvamedha twice. He also referred to a slightly earlier inscription found at Ghosundi not far from Chittorgarh crediting Gajayana Parasariputra Sarvatata with the celebration of a similar Asvamedha sacrifice. It is, therefore, evident from the sources quoted by the late Carnichael Professor that from the time of the Sungas to that of the Andhra-Satakarnis, Brahmanism was a living force, and sacrificial rites continued to be performed.

The evidence relating to the performance of sacrifices in the Kushana period is no doubt available from the Mathura Yupa inscription[4] of the time of Vasishka, dated in the year 24, as also from several Yupa inscriptions recorded on Badva (Kotah) stone pillars and dated in the Kritâ year 295 = 237 A.D. The Isapur (Mathura) Yupa inscription refers to the setting up of the pillar-post after the performace of sacrificial rites in session for twelve days by Dronala, son of Rudrila, a Brahmin of the Bharadvaja gotra. He was a Chhandogya Brahmin and had performed the sacrifice for the propitiation of fires (priyantam Agnayah),

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and it was called dvadasratri. It appears to be a part of the Saptasoma sacrifice with the number of days elongated and is mentioned separately from the Agnishtama in the Atharvaveda.[5]

The setting up of the Mathura Yupa was not an isolated event connected with Brahmanism and sacrificial rites ; there are references to several other Yupas being erected in this period. The Badva (Kotah) Yupas,[6] dated in the Krita year 295 = A.D. 237 commemorate the performance of Triratra sacrifice. So also the Allahabad Municipal Museum Yupa inscription[7] records sacrifice in the 23rd regnal year of a certain king belonging to the second century of the Christian era on palaeographic grounds. This record commemorates the erection of seven Yupas connected with the Saptasoma sacrifice. It also refers to the bestowal of fees (dakshina) by the propitiator. The third inscription[8] in this context is from Nandasa in the former Udaipur State. It records the performance of the Shashtiratra sacrifice by Saktiguna in the Krita year 282 = A.D. 225 A.D. There are also two undated Yupa records from Bijaygarh[9] (Bharatapur) and Nagar[10] recording the Pundarika and Vajapeya sacrifices respectively. On palaeographic grounds these two can be placed in the third century A.D. Although these records are not dated in the Kushana era but in the Krita (Vikrama) one, there is nothing to doubt about Brahmanism as a strong force in the period of these records, roughly the first half of the third century A.D. The names of the rulers are not mentioned in these records, but these represent the religious condition of Northern India before the advent of the Guptas to power. The evidence, thus, quoted above belies the statement that Brahmanism was a dead force before the Guptas.

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The role of Brahmins in the social set-up, and the respect they commanded for their erudition and learning can be gleaned from some other records relating to endowments or dedications for the Brahmins. Reference has already been made to the Mathura Brahmi inscription[11] dated in the year 28 of the time of Huvishka. It records the permanent deposit of a sum of 1100 Puranas with two guilds for feeding a hundred Brahmins every day out of the interest that accrued on these. It as well took care of the poor and the indigent for whom some provision was to left out at the door of the ancient Punyasala or alms house. Another Mathura record from Mat[12] refers to the entrusting of a devakula to Brahmins, along with a grant. So also the Saka Kshatrapa records of the second century A.D. mention dedication for the Brahmins. An inscription[13] of Ushavadata from a Nasik Cave records donation of sixteen villages to the gods and Brahmins, and the feeding of one hundred Brahmins all the year round (anuvarsham Brahmana satasahasribhoja pavitra), and he got eight Brahmin girls married at his expense at the religious centre of Prabhasa (Prabhasa punyatirthe brahmanebhyah ashtabharya pradena). The Divyavadana[14] mentions gifts to Brahmins while in the Mahavastu[15] there is a reference to a Brahmin preceptor being invited from Samudrapattana for performing sacrifice. The preceptor, however, sent his pupil for this purpose who received handsome gifts for the services rendered. These isolated instances from literature thus corroborate the evidence from inscriptions regarding Brahmanism in its flowering stage rather than in decline or stagnation.

Brahmanical Divinities :

Literature and coins also adduce evidence on the worship of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses - a popular form of worship.

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Both the Mahavastu and Lalitavistara refer to Vishnu[16] and Narayana[17] respectively occupying the highest position in Brahmana[18] literature. The Vedic god, Vishnu, the cosmic and philosophic Narayana with his paradise (Svetadvipa) called the white island in the Narayaniya[19] and the last one Vasudeva, more militant and historical in character were all rolled into one god - Vishnu - the preserver in the Hindu Trinity. In fact, the last Kushana ruler of the Kanishka group takes the name Vasudeva - symbolising his faith in this divinity. He, however, does not portray the figure of Vishnu or Vasudeva on his coins, nor introduces the figures of Skanda, Kumara and Visakha as was done by his predecessor Huvishka. Only Siva and Nana figures appear on his coins. Nana was not a foreign goddess but the Indian Amba. The word is noticed in the Rig-veda[20] in the sense of mother and this goddess might be identified with the mother-goddess Amba,[21] one of the names given to the consort of Siva in the Amarakosa.[22] The attributes and objects in her hand and her vamana hardly leave any doubt for this identification. Besides Siva who is named OHPO on the coins, Rudra, Siva and Pasupata are the other names accorded to him in the literature of this period.[23] Probably Saivism was the most popular phase in Brahmanism, since the figure of Siva appears on the coins of all the Kushana monarchs from Wima Kadphises onwards. According to Taranatha,[24] Asvaghosha was a saivite - a devotee of Mahesa before his conversion to Buddhism. The Milinda-panha[25] distinguishes the Sivakas from the Brahmanas and Samanas. The Sadharma Pundarika[26] as well mentions Isvara and Mahesvara while the Avadanasataka[27] and the Divyavadana[28] accord him two other names - Janardhana and Sankara.

As mentioned earlier, the coins of Huvishka portray from[29] Brahmanical divinities - either representing a single god Karttikeya

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or four separate gods. According to D.R.Bhandarkar,[29] these represented four different ones and not one god. Karthkeya, who is given seventeen names in the Amarakosa. The images of Siva, Skanda and Visakha were worshipped earlier in the time of Patanjali[30] (Samprati pujartha). Bhandarkar took[31] this evidence as an indication of the existence of three separate divinities - Skanda, Mahasena and Kumara with a separate status for Visakha who is distinguished from Skanda by Patanjali. He, however, concluded that since the Mahabharata refers to Visakha rising from the right side of Skanda, there was a tendency to identify the two, as was done in later times. The contemporary literature notices[32] only Skanda. It is therefore proposed that only Skanda or Karthkeya was worshipped, but the nature of his activities were connoted by different names, as for example Mahasena was represented as the commander of the army of gods. At the moment it is not necessary to go into the antiquity of these gods.[33]

Among the Brahmanical divinities mentioned in literature[34] are Varuna, Brahma, Kubera, Chandra, Surya, Dhanada and Ganga. Varuna, the Vedic deity, was propituated for correcting the moral sins of the people.[35] He was the god of the sky and water and was associated with other divinities. In the Avadanasataka,[36] he is mentioned along with Siva, Kubera, Indra and others. The popularity of Kubera as the lord of the riches could be evinced from the statues of this divinity found in Mathura art as also in Gandhara in the form of Panchaka. He is shown enjoying Asava drink. Chandra and Surya mentioned in literature[37] have also their status in Mathura art. Other Brahmanical gods and goddesses whose statues have been found in Mathura include those of Brahma (no. 382), Indra with Kirti-Mukuta (no. 1178), Agni and Ayuddha - Purusha (no. 2883),

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Balarama (c. 15) wearing varnamala with chakra in Abhaya-mudra, Svami Karthikeya (no. 2949) - the statue with an inscription dated in the year 11, Ganesa (no. 269). Mathura was noted for the worship of Siva and Vishnu, and Megasthenes has recorded this fact much earlier. Saiva statues - Siva and Parvati in Ardhanarisvara form, the human couple, Mukha-linga and eka-linga - all belonging to this period have been found in Mathura.[38] The statues of Vishnu standing (no. 248), in Abhaya-mudra with his sankha and chakra with eight arms (no. 512), in the Narasimha and Varaha incarnations, and as Hari-Hara - half-Siva and half Vishnu, figure prominently in the Mathura school of art. The Saptamatrikas (F. 38) or the seven mother-goddesses are also mentioned in the Divyavadana.[39]

The data from inscriptions, coins, literature and art suggest that Brahmanas was a living force in the Kushana period. The hierarchy of the Brahmins in the social set up was recognised and even foreigners also accepted Hinduism made provision for them in cash and kind. The popular phase of this religion was confined to the propituation of gods and goddesses, and setting up their statues, as evinced from archaeological finds and references in literature. The figures of Brahmanical divinities on Kushana coins, and the continuity of those of Siva and Nana - Amba from Wima Kadphises to Vasudeva are positive facts confirming the position of Brahmanism in the Kushana period. It was not on decline, not even in a stagnant state, but was in a flourishing state. As such there is no ground for presuming that Brahmanism had received a set back under the Kushanas and was revived in the time of the Guptas, as earlier presumed by R.G.Bhandarkar and later on confirmed by A.S.Altekar.

Buddhism :

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Buddhism :

The period under review is also considered transitional in the history of Buddhism in India, as seems evident from the Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Inscriptions record dedications made for the prosperity of both the conservative and the literal schools of Buddhism. It is equally learnt from traditional accounts that the fourth Buddhist Council was held under the patronage of king Kanishka, and it was an important landmark in Buddhism and its history. The old school of the Sthaviravadins with its offshoots - the Sarvastivadins and the Dharmaguptikas, was as strong as the progressive school of the Mahasanghikas. Both had this religious establishment or viharas in Mathura as also in the North-west region of Gandhara, and there was a free exchange of views in disputation between the two schools which sometimes demanded the importation of a heavy weight challenges from their strong hold at the other end. A survey of the state of Buddhism could be attempted on the basis of inscriptions relating to both the schools as also relying on such evidence as might be available from literature and traditional accounts, preserved in Tibet and Chinese sources.

Different Schools of Buddhism :

The existence of the two important schools of Buddhism , namely that of the Sarvastivadins and the Mahasanghikas is established by their records of dedications relating to them. The earliest one is the Mathura Lion Capital inscription[40] of the time of Sodasa. It records the bringing of a dialectecian (khalula) from the Sarvastivadin headquarters at Nagara in Jalalabad (Afghanistan) to Mathura to counter-act the propagation of the Mahasanghikas. The existence of this school in that region is confirmed by

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the earliest Kushans record dated in the year 134 from Kalwan,[41] recording the deposit of relics for the acceptance of the Sarvastivadin sect. The famous Shah-ji-ki-dheri casket inscription[42] records the gift of the casket dedicated in Kanishka's vihara and Mahasena's sangharama for the acceptance of the Sarvastivadins. Dedications for this school are as well recorded in inscriptions from Zeda[43] and Kurram[44] of the year 11 and 20 respectively of Kanishka's era. Another inscription[45] records dedication of Yola Mirashahi for the acceptance of the Sarvastivadins. These Kharoshthi region records confirm the establishments of this school in Afghanistan, West Punjab and Sind.

The Brahmi records relating to this school include those of dedications made by Friar Bala at Sravasti as also at Sarnath.[46] The statue of a Bodhisattva along with an umbrella and a stick was dedicated at a place where the Lord used to walk in the Kosambakuti, as the property of the Sarvastivadins. The Sarnath records of the same donor do not mention the name of this school. An inscription[47] on the railing surrounding the old stupa in the south chapel of the main shrine, however, refers to the Sarvastivadins. It is similar to another one[48] found there and noticed by Vogel. It runs - acharyanam sarvastivadinam parigrahe. These two records from Sarnath suggest its importance as a centre of the school of the Sarvastivadins.

Mathura was of course the most important place for the Sarvastivadins who had to face the opposition of the rival school of the Mahasanghikas. Besides the Lion Capital inscription, quoted earlier, a few records of the Kushana period are associated with this school. An inscription[49] engraved on the pedastal of an image records its dedication for the acceptance of the Sarvasti-

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vadins. Similarly the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription[50] records the setting up of the image as an object of homage to the Sarvastivadins (Sarvastivadinam parigrahe).

The rival school of the Mahasanghikas had its centres at Mathura and in Afghanistan where their inscriptions have been found. The Wardhak record[51] dated in the year 51 of the time of Huvishka mentions the establishment of the relics of Lord Sakyamuni in the Vagramarega vihara in the possession of the Mahasanghika teachers. There is no other Kharoshti record of this school but there are quite a few Brahmi ones connected with it. The earliest one[52] is dated in the year 10 of Kanishka's era and recorded on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image mentions dedication by Naga datta, an inmate of the vihara to the Kraushtikiya monastery in the gandhakuti of his own shrine. Other Brahmi records related to this school include the Palikhera stone bowl inscription,[53] another one[54] from the same place, and the third one from Matagoli at Mathura.[55] Reference is made to the Apnaka vihara of the Mahasanghika monks in the second record ; and the last one notices the erection of something in the mango monastery (Chutaka vihara). This record is dated in the year 91 of Kanishka's era. A new record[56] dated in the year 67 of the time of Maharaja Devaputra Vasudeva records the setting up of an image for the Mahasanghikas.

Besides these two important but rival schools of Buddhism, another one closely related to the Sarvastivadins, namely that of the Dharmaguptikas is mentioned in a Brahmi record.[57] It is inscribed on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image set up by Pusika Nagapriya in the sanctuary of her own chaitya in the possession of the Dharmaguptika teachers.

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Literary Evidence :

The contemporary literature as well provides evidence on the existence of different schools of Buddhism. The literary works of course had a food in Hinayanism and another in Mahayanism depending on the degree of their progressive ideas. The Saddharma-pundarika and the Lalitavistara have traces of greater degree of Mahayanism while the Mahavastu marks the period of transition from the conception of the Buddha as a simple mortal being of the Hinayana to that of quasi-eternal god of Mahayanism. The colophon at the end of the work reveals its importance as the book for the Lokottaravadins.[58] As regards Asvaghosha and his works, the Chinese traditions[59] assign him to the Sarvastivadin school, and Parsva is credited for the conversion of the scholar to Buddhism. In his works, however, one notices feeling of devotion and his eulogy on Sraddha,[60] as also finds parallel with the Saddharma-Pundarika[61] and the Lalitavistara.[62] Johnston in his Introduction of the translation of Buddhacharita suggests[63] and it would be better to consider Asvaghosha being either a Bahusrutika or an adherent of the school from which the Bahusrutikas emerged. A study of the works of Asvaghosha, however, suggests that the poet was to a great extent influenced by the Yogachara school which laid so much emphasis on the attainment of ultimate truth through the practice of Yoga (asthaya yogaparigamya tatvam).[64] The influence of the Yogachara school is perceptible in his works. In this context it might be mentioned that the Mahayana Sraddhotpada Sastra is said to be associated with the celebrated Buddhist poet.

The Sarvastivadins and the Buddhist Council :

The school of the Sarvastivadins, an off-shoot of the main

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one of Sttraviravadins, was very much prominent in the Kushana period. It flourished in Gandhara, Kashmir and Central Asia,[65] but it was hardly known in Southern India or in Ceylon. It was the principal northern form of Hinayanism, like the Theravadd in the South. The Kathavatthu[66] notices its doctrines and as such its antiquity and importance could be gauged. In later times, it prevailed in Malayasia. This school is equally associated with the fourth Buddhist Council, which figures in the accounts of Hsuen-tsang and Taranatha and earlier mentioned by Paramartha (A.D. 499-509) in his 'Life of Vasubandhu'. According to this earliest source, five hundred years after Buddha's death, an Indian arhat called Katyayaniputra, a monk of the Sarvastivadin school went to Kashmir for the Council meeting where 500 other Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas had collected. There the Abhidharma of the Sarvastivadins was collected and arranged in eight books called Ka-lan-ta (Sanskrit grantha) or Kan-tu (Pali gantho). This compilation was also called Jnanaprasthana. The role of the Sarvastivadins and the Councils venue in Kashmir are also mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. According to Hsuan-tsang the king (Kanishka) acting in consultation with Pasva issued invitations to all the learned doctors of the realm - out of whom only 499 Arhats were selected. Taranatha, however, called it the Third Buddhist Council and it was called to put an end to the dissentions which had been distracting the Buddhist Church for nearly a century, and further it recognised all the eighteen sects as holding the true doctrine. It not only put the Vinaya in writing but also codified properly such parts of the Sutrapitaka and the Abhidharma as were still unwritten and needed proper correction and codification. All kinds of Mahayanist writings appeared at this time. It is proposed by

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Eliot[68] that the Council was not a specially Mahayanist meeting but rather a conference of peace and compromise. The tradition connecting the Sarvastivadins with the Council is not discredited. Kanishka's association with this school seems evident from the Shah-ji-ki-dheri casket inscription, noticed earlier, mentioning Kanishka's vihara for this school. The Sarvastivadins were probably not very strong in Mathura. The few Brahmi records - only one dated in the year 2, the other two being undated - suggest that this Buddhist school flourished during the time of Kanishka while that of the Mahasanghikas continued as late as the year 91 of the Kushana era. The Hinayana literature confined to the Avadanas, the Milindapanha and portions of the Mahavastu contain notices of the conception of the Bodhisattvas and the practice of the Paramitas or virtues. The earliest Theranada school was ignorant of the Paramitas. In the Divyavadana[69], there are references to six of these, namely daya, sila, santi, virya, dhyana and Prajna. Stories were invented to associate these virtues in the life study of the Buddha to inspire faith in the masses. The same work also refers[70] to the aspiration for the attainment of Buddhahood. The Lalitavistara[71] stresses on faith in the Buddha for enjoying his protection. This evidently points to the creeping in of Bhaktism in Hinayanism as well. This might be due to the influence of Brahmanism, or was merely an attempt to bring both the schools nearer to each other by laying great stress on devotion to the Lord.

Mahasanghikas - Lokottaravadins :

Reference has no doubt been made to the existence of the school of Mahasanghikas at Mathura in the time of Sodasa. It continued to exist during the period of the Kushanas as is evident

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from the inscriptions and Buddhist literature of this period. The Mahavastu discloses its identity in the colophon at the end of the work as the vinaya of the Lokottaravadin - Mahasanghikas. It serves as a bridge between the Hinayanist conception of the Lord as a simple mortal being and in his Mahayanist form as a quasi-eternal god sending illusory images in this world. The Lokottaravadins laid emphasis on the super human (Lokottara) character of the Buddha in the past and in the present. The work refers to ten Bhumis - Durarohа. Baddhamana, Pushpamandita, Ruchira. Chittavastara, Rupavati, Durjaya, Janmanidesa, Yavanarajya and Abhisheka-bhumi, through which a Bodhisattva had to pass before attaining enlightenment. The Lokottaravadin conception of Bhumis and Charyas served as the seeds for the later development of Mahayanism. There are no references in this work to the Bodhisattvas Amitabha, Avalokitesvara, Manjusri and the doctrines of voidness (Sunyata) which are the characteristics of Mahayanism. The school of the Mahasanghikas flourished till the end of the Kushana period with Mathura as its strong hold. Its latest record[73] is dated in the year 92 of Kanishka's era. Its influence extended as far as Wardhak in Afghanistan in the north-west[74] and Karle in the south-west, as is evident from the two inscriptions[76] recording gifts by Gautamiputra Satakarni and Vasishtaputra Sri Pulemani.

Mahayanism :

There is no epigraphic record of this period connected with this school, but a fair amount of information relating to this school is available from contemporary literature. This liberal and progress school of Buddhism is noted for its emphasis on three things - the substitution of the career of a future Buddha for the

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conquest of the quality of an Arhat ; secondly the creation of a new theory of voidness (Sunyata) - (Pali - Sunnato) and thirdly the transformation of the Buddhas into great mythological gods, almost eternal, the definition of future Buddhas as helping providences and by a parallel development the practice of devotion (bhakti) towards these great beings (mahasattvas) instead of the respect and meditation practised by the ancients towards the Buddha.[76] In the Saddharma Pundarika,[77] the Buddha is regarded as the summum bonum, actually nothing less than a god above all gods, the Lord of all the world, and the chief among the leaders of the world. The Lord personally helps the people in the attainment of Buddhahood through his own vehicle (Buddha-yanani) - the best vehicle (Sreshta-visishta-yanam). The designations - Sravakas, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are diversions of only one vehicle - the Buddha vehicle.[78] There is only one nirvana, not two or three (ekam na dvai na trini) which all disciples can attain and became Buddha.[79] The Arhats of the Hinayanists are compared to middle-sized plants whose growth is stopped after some time.[80] The glorification of the Buddha, the great physician (mahavaidya) is followed by reference to Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara,[81] the great redeemer, invoked in difficult times and Manjusri. The book shows the culmination of the Mahayana school of Buddhism.

Yogacharas :

The school of Yogacharas associated with Asanga probably took its root in this period. Like the Madhyamikas, the Yogacharas supported Buddhism, but as idealists they denied the real existence of all except Vijnana or consciousness, and were thus called Vijnanavadins.[82] Asvaghosha refers to the practice of Yoga and

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arriving at the ultimate truth (parigamya tatvam)[83]. Practice of yoga out of season and by wrong methods could lead to calamity[84]. It demanded solitary meditation with right attention and concentration[85]. According to the Lalitavistara[86], it is to be performed with due reverence with the eyes directed to the tip of the nose which is equally confined by the Bhagavad Gita[87] (sampreksya nasikagrani). The Yogachara manual of a later date, translated by Rhys Davids prescribes the closing of eyes and with the sub-consciousness seeing the tip of the nose, breathing regularly and fixing the object of thought in heart, as the right method of concentration[88]. According to Asvaghosha, the attainment through Yoga immuned a person from age and death[89]. He as well points out that by practising yoga and arriving at the ultimate truth the person so doing remained unamazed at the hour of death[90]. The Lord, therefore, asks his cousin Nanda to devote his mind to the highest good so long as the favourable moment endures, so long as death does not come to him and so long as youth permits him to carry on with yoga[91]. The period under review witnessed the activities of this school which laid stress on yoga. It was a discipline which had shaped itself but it attained its top form in the time of Asanga.

Madhyamikas :

This school which claimed Nagarjuna and his pupil Aryadeva as its great supporter was actually a sub-division of Mahayanism. Its adherents followed the middle doctrine - neither positive nor negative but relative. The Madhyamakarika of Nagarjuna systematically presents the doctrine of voidness, connected with Mahayanism. It is quite likely that he might have written some other works as

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well, as for instance he is credited with the authorship of Prajnaparamita. The commentary on it called Maha-prajna-Paramita-Sastra is also ascribed to his pen.[92] Nagarjuna is supposed to have written another work Suhrillekha or friendly letter, a compendium of Buddhist doctrine addressed to an Indian king, probably some Satavahana ruler.

Monestic Organisation :

The working of the Buddhist monasteries associated with different schools seemed to have been uniformly planned. Inscriptions provide names of monasteries associated with different schools. There were at least three or four viharas, including one of Huvishka. At the other end, Kanishka's vihara at Shah-ji-ki-dheri, near Peshawar was for the Sarvastivadins, and the Vagramarega vihara of the Wardhak (Afghanistan) record was connected with the Mahasanghikas. The literature of the period provides some information relating to its working. Priests were not permanently attached to the monesteries. The Divyavadana[94] mentions the arrival and departure of priests, respectively called Agantika and Gantika. A master of the vinaya was called vinayadhara,[95] while an expert on the philosophical parts of the canonical texts (Abhidhamma) was called Matrikadhara.[96] Rules of address (bhoskara) were duly followed and instructions were confined to religious matters (pankatha).[97] There were gradations of internees in the vihara. A lay hearer was called Sravaka[98] while a great disciple was known as Maha-sravaka.[99] The Mahavastu refers to chief female disciple (agra-sravika).[100] There were also others like bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka and upasika[101] - the last two were only lay devotees.[102]

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There is a reference to the observance of rules of discipline.[103] The monestery bell (gandi)[104] was used for announcing meal time as also for calling members to the congregation. Emphasis was laid on the dignity of labour. The Avadanasataka[105] stresses on this point in the life story of the Buddha who used to deliver sermon while cleaning the monastery with a broon. The same spirit seems to have pervaded in the organisational set-up Agisala, the navakarmika of Kanishka's vihara, calls himself a dasa or the servant of the vihara.

Buddhism as a religion in the land of its birth was not confined to the dedicated monks who had renounced the world. It had no doubt split itself into several schools - out of the two main ones - the Sthaviravadins and the Mahayanists. The Buddhism of the time seems to have drawn the theistic trend of the Bhagavad-Gita. The Bhakti element is common to both and even parallel stanzas and verses can be cited with the same feeling of devotion towards the Tathagata in the Saddharma-Pundarika as is shown to Krishna in the 'Song-Celestial'. The religion of the Tathagata was a living force in the Kushana period and it was carried from here to Central Asia and even beyond to China and gradually to other countries in the Far East. This has to be studied independently after recording the state of other religions in the Kushana period.

Janism :

The Kankali Tila at Mathura provided a large number of records relating to Jainism and its organisational set-up in that area with its broad divisions and sub-divisions, its prominent teachers, monks, nuns and, of course, lay disciples who had set up endowments here. Images of Jain Tirthankaras and tablets of

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homage (ayagapatas) on which these inscriptions are recorded, reveal the importance of Mathura as a strong centre of this sramana religion. Some earlier records testify to the prevalence of Jainism in this area even before the period of the Kushanas. The Lucknow Museum Inscription of the time of some Maharaja Rajatiraja records the setting up of the image of the Jain Arhat by donors whose names suggest their foreign origin. The story in the Kalakacharya Kathanaka about the conversion of Vikrama to Jainism by Siddhasena, is not considered authentic.[106] According to Franklin Edgerton the story is a wishful thinking and a familiar trick not uncommon among the Buddhists and the Jains. This aspect of conversion to Janism, however, deserves consideration. The study of the data from the records was first made by Buhler in his essay - Uber die Indische secte de Jaina which was translated by Burgress in 1904 and later on by Mehta in his book A History of Jainism in Northern India. It might be of some interest to make an in depth study of the available material with reference to the consecration of statues of different Tirthankas and their association with different ganas and kulas, as also the role of the lay devotees, particularly ladies in Jain ecclesiastical affairs, and finally the conversion of foreigners to Jainism.

Dedication of Statues of different Tirthankaras :

Among the records of dedication of statues of Jain Tirthankaras, half a dozen dated ones are associated with the last Tirthankara Mahavira, two refer to the setting up of four-fold statues (sarvatobhadra pratima), and one each mention the setting up of statues of Santinatha, Sambhanatha, Rishobhadatta and Nanaiyavarta. The earliest record[107] relating to the dedication of the statue of Tirthankara Mahavira is dated in the year 5 of the Kushana era.

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It was the Kottiyagana and the Brahmadasika kula of Jainism. Two other statues of the last Tirthankara were set up for this gana but a different kula-sthaniya in the year 20 and 35[108] respectively of this era. Another gana named varana with its Petavamika and Pushyamitriya kulas claimed the setting up of three statues of Vardhamana in the years 22,[109] 29[110] and 50[111] of the Kushana era. The donors in all the cases were pious female devotees. The some ganas are also associated with the setting up of images of other Tirthankaras, and sometimes by the same donor. Thus, Datta dedicated an image of Rishabha in the year[112] 60 and earlier in the year 49.[113] She had set up an image of Arhat Nandivrata at the Vodya (?) thupa (stupa) at the request of Aya-vridha hasti (Arya-vridha hastin) who was associated with the Kottiya (Kauttika gana) and Vairasakha. Another lady Vasula is equally associated with two records of dedication in the years 15[114] and 86.[115] The long gap, however, suggests that the two ladies of the same name were different. Reference is also available about the consecration of a statue of Sarasvati[116] by a blacksmith (lohakara) at the instance of the preacher (vachaka), Aryadeva of the Kottiyagana and the Sthaniyakula in the year 54 of the Kushana era. Mitra, wife of Hargudeva (Phalgudeva) and daughter-in-law of the iron monger (lohavanya[117]) set up an image of the same Tirthankaras in the year 20. Some inscriptions recorded on tablets of homage (Ayagapatas), stones, slabs and pillars as well record the setting up of statues of Jain Arhats whose names are not mentioned. The consecration of images of Jain Tirthankaras is also mentioned in literature and inscriptions. The famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela[118] refers to the installation of an image of Rishabhadeva which ar was earlier carried away by the Nanda ruler. This could be the earliest epigraphic evidence on this point. Kautilya as well refers[119] to images

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of Jain gods - Jayanta, Vijayanta, Aparajita and others. The antiquity of Jain image worship could, thus, be traced to the fourth century B.C. Unfortunately there is no reference to the setting up of statues of many other Tirthankaras, except of Rishabha and Mahavira, but the statue of Parsva could be traced with the characteristic symbol - a canopy of snakehood over his head.

A study of the donatory records relating to Jainism and its orders bring out certain interesting features, particularly the interest taken by the lay devotees - sraddhacharis ; and the participation of people of different castes and avocations, such as iron mongers[120] (lohakara) and others[121] like carpenters (vardhakins), perfumers (gandhika) and even courtesans (ganika). In this context, it might be worthwhile referring to the Uttaradhyanasutra (12.1) mentioning Hariesabala, born in a chandala family. Birth and background were not determining factors in matters of creating endowments or making donations. They could aspire for higher positions as well in the organisational set-up, of course, on account of their intellectual attainments. The statues were naturally set up in some temple named after the Tirthankaras. The role of the foreigners in Jain socio-religious organisations was not negligible or inconspicuous. The two inscriptions, one dated in the year 299 of some Maharaja Rajatiraja,[122] are relevant in this context. The first one records the setting up of an image of the Arahat Mahavira in the temple of the Arhats (Arahatayatang) and of shrine (devakula) by donors Ujhatika, Okharika and Okha - names rather uncommon. The other inscription[123] is more interesting and records the setting up of a shrine (devakula) of the Arhat Vardhamana, an ayaga sabha (a hall of homage), a reservoir (prapa) and stone slabs (silapata) in the Arhat temple of the Nigaṇṭhas by the lay disciple of the ascetics

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(Samanasavika), the Nade courtesan (ganika) Vasu, daughter of the Ada courtesan (ganika), Longsobhika together with some of her relatives for the worship of the Arhats. These records suggest that temples served as residential orders for Jain ascetics. Besides the main shrine (devakula), a hall of homage (ayagasabha), reservoir (prapa) and stone slab (silapata) as well formed part of the temple complex.

There are numerous records relating to the tablets of homage (ayagapatas). In these square stone slabs, the ~~Yaga~~ Jaina type of Jina is seated in the middle, with the highly ornamented trisula, and a variety of sacred symbols and massive pillar - all cut on stone. The earliest recorded tablet of homage was set up by Amohini in the year 42 of the Lord, the Mahakshatrapa Sodasa.[124] One tablet provides an interesting view of a Jain stupa surrounded by a circumbulatory path and enclosed with a railing with its approach marked out through a decorated gateway (torana). A dancing girl figures on each side. This was set up by Sivavasa,[125] wife of a donor. These ayagapatas were meant for the worship of all the Arhats to invoke their blessings.[126]

The Jains as well raised stupas, like the Buddhists, over the ashes of a chief or religious leader, surrounded as usual by railings. A record of Dina[127] dated in the year 49 refers to the putting up of an image of the Arhat Nandivarta by the female lay worshipper Dina. The stupa is also noticed in the tablet of homage set up by Sivasiya. The remains of a Jain stupa were also found in excavations at Kankali Tila in Mathura.[128]

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Classification of Jain Religious Orders :

The inscriptions from Mathura record dedications for different schools, called ganas, of Jainism. These had branched of into different kulas and sakhas. The three prominent ganas were those of Kottika, Varana or charana and Arya-udekiya. The fourth one Vesavadiya is implied with reference to its kulas mentioned in the records. The Kalpasutra, however, mentions[129] nine ganas (navagana). The Kottiya gana fetched the largest number of endowments. Its earliest record[130] is dated in the year 5 of Devaputra Kanishka. The different kulas associated with it in the records were Brahmadasika, Thaniya (sthaniya), Vacchaliya and Prabanaka (Prasnavahanaka), and the corresponding sakhas for the first three were Uchenagari, Aryaveri or Vairi and Majhma. The heads of this gana were Arya-Pusila[131] (Arya-Pushyala) in the year 12, Vrihatvachaka Ja-mitra[132] in the year 20, Moghahastu[133] in the years 52 and 54 and Arya Kharna[134] in the year 60. The successors seem to have been nominated by his predecessors. According to the Kalpasutra[135] Sushthita and Supratibuddha, surnamed Kautika and Kakandaka were the founders of this school. It was divided into Uchanagari, Vidyadhari, Vajri and Madhyamika sakhas, and Brahmaliptaka, Vatsaliya (Prk. Vachaliyya), Vaniya (Prk. Vanuja) and Prasnavahanaka kulas. This school continued to exist in the Gupta period, since it is noticed in a record[136] dated in the year 113 of the Gupta era. The inscription refers to the setting up of an image by Svamadhava under instructions from Datulacharya of of the Kottiya ganas and Vidyadhari sakha.

The next gana noticed in records in Charana or Varana of the Kalpasutra. Its earliest record[137] is dated in the year 29

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with Arya-Data (Arya-Datta) as its head (Ganin). In the year 50 (or 70) its great preacher was Dinara.[138] According to the Kalpa-sutra,[139] the charana gana was divided into four sakhas and seven kulas. These sakhas were Sanakasika, Vajjanagali, Gavedhuke and Hiranyamalagari, while the kulas were Vatsalina, Pritidharmika, Haridraka, Pushyamitrika, Malayaka, Aryachedya and Kanghasaka. Some of the kulas could be equated with those mentioned in the records, as for instance, Pushyamitiya = Pushyamitraka, Aryachetaya = Aryachediya, Kanijasike = Kanahasika, Petivamike = Prittidharmika and Ayahattiya = Haridrakas. The charana gana was founded by Srigupta of the Haritagotra.[140]

The next gana Aryaudekiya is noticed only with reference to its kula Nagabhutikiya in a record[141] dated in the year 7 with Buddhasri as its head. This kula is identical with Nagaghuvakula of the Uddehagana. The other record[142] dated in the year 90, mentions this gana in a different form - Dehikiyauddeha gana. It was founded by Arya Roharsa of the Kasyapa gotra[143] and had four sakhas and six kulas. The records, however, notice only two of its kulas - the Nagabhuta and Paridhasika, identified with the Nagabhuta and Parihasika kulas of the Kalpasutra. The solitary sakha of this gana mentioned in a record Petaputrika is identical with the Purnapabrika (Pr. Punnapattiya) of the Kalpasutra. The last gana noticed in a record[144] dated in the year 15 is Mehikula which, according to the Kalpasutra, was one of the four kulas of the Vesavadiya gana founded by Kamarohi[145] of the Kundala gotra. It had four sakhas.

The organisational set up of the ganas centred round its head called ganin, the great preacher Vrihatavachaka. He was selected by his predecessor, probably in his life time. Intellec-

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tual attainments and not birth was taken into consideration in this context. In the vinaya of the Kalpasutra, there is a reference to the search for worthy disciple by Jambusvamin. His choice fell on Sayyambhatta of Rajagriha who was given diksha. Among the preachers in the Kushana period, the important ones were Arya Bahadura,[146] Aryadeva[147] and Arya Ksheraka.[148] Their names appear in several records.[149] So also in this category were Mihila and Nagadatta[150] as monks (sishya).

Role of Women :

As nuns (sishyini) or lay devotee (sraddhachari), women equally played an active and constructive role. The latter were devout house-hold ladies, and they created endowments for the faith, as also encouraged others to do so. There are many references to Jain nuns, who were disciples of the heads of schools. An earlier reference to the sravika Okha in the Lucknow Museum inscription[151] of the year 292 followed by that of Amohini of her tablet inscription, are important for this purpose. These two are Pre-Kushana records. Those of the Kushana period include names of Kumaramitra,[152] Vasula,[153] Sangamika, Jinadasi,[154] Balavarna,[156] and Deva.[157] Sadita was a female disciple noticed in another record. These female members of Jain religious order were contributory forces in the propagation of the faith. There is, however, no reference to a female preacher in any record. Of course, as nuns and lay disciples, they had their duties and responsibilities.

Foreign Elements in Jainism :

The Lucknow Museum inscription of the year 292 appears to be the solitary record of some foreigner as member of the Jain order. Luders in his paper considered[158] the donors of the record

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to be foreigners who were converted to Jainism. Okharka and Ujhalika are not Indian names, and Dimitra is the Indianised form of Demetrius. He presumed that they were Parthians who had migrated during the reign of the Kshatrapas and upheld the tradition of their country by dating their record in the Parthian era of 247 B.C. The inscriptions from Kankali Tila also mention some unfamiliar names like Akaka[159] and Ogha.[160] It is therefore quite likely that some foreigners accepted Jainism.

The donatory records of the Kushana period as also finds of artefacts and statues of Tirthankaras and tablets of homage suggest that Jainism was flourishing in this period. It had a well organised Church with its members formed into different schools and their branches. There is no trace of clash between members of these schools and their preachers, as was quite prominent in Buddhism and its schools. Jainism seemed to be conservative and localised in nature. It flourished without transcending national borders, as Buddhism did. Its history was equally uneventful in the Saka-Kshatrapa Kushana period and even later on under the Guptas.

Naga Worshippers :

A totenistic feature of the religious life in the Kushana period was snake worship. There are many inscriptions recorded on Naga statues in human form with a canopy of snake hood, or on slabs which record dedication by Naga worshippers. Some such names begin with Naga prefix and some with Naga endings in their name, such as Nagadata, Nagabhata, Nagasena, Ganapatinaga etc. The earliest record[161] connected with Nagaworship is dated in the year 8. It is inscribed on a figure of Naga attended by two Nagas of smaller

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size. The Naga is named Svaminaga. A local serpent deity named Dadhikarana is also mentioned in two records.[162] The life-size Chargaon Naga statue[163] (ht. 7'. 8") with snakehood and tenon records its setting up by the two brothers Senahastin and Bhonika in the year 40. It continued to be worshipped by the local villages for centuries as an effigy of Balarama before its removal to the Mathura Museum.

Another Naga statue[164] (ht. 9'. 4") shown standing with his right hand raised to the shoulder and the left one holding a vessel, is canopied by a hood of seven nagas. The posture and dress of this Naga is similar to that of a Bodhisattva. It is dated in the year 52. There are several other inscribed images of Nagas and a few uninscribed ones as well. An inscription[165] of a lady named Sivamitra of the Kausika family is important for invoking the destructive power of a black serpent against the Pothayas and Sakas. The objective underlying worship of snake was positive one as well. As lords of the underground region and water, the snakes were supposed to be guardians of treasures buried underground. In the Mahavastu,[166] the king of the Nagas is closely associated with Varuna, the lord of the water. According to Varamihira, the snakes of the lineage of Takshaka and Vasuki were propitiated as they were capable of conferring boons and part with the treasures under their care. Their help was also solicited for destroying the enemies of the propitiator. Dedication of objects, tanks and gardens were meant for their propitiation.[167] As pointed out by Max-Muller, there can be no doubt that the belief in the serpents had its origin in the Vedas. The idea of pacifying them is thoroughly Aryan. Eliot Smith, however, proposed[168] that their worship originated in Egypt

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about 800 B.C. and was spread thence to India. It was not only known but prevalent during the period of the Atharvaveda[169] which contains numerous charms against serpents and a rite of propitiation is prescribed on the full moon day of the month of Marghasirsha. The invocation of serpents for boons relating to wealth, progeny and for destroying the enemies made it popular with people professing both Brahmanism and Buddhism.

Nagas and other Religions :

The invocations of the Nagas was associated with Brahmanism with the introduction of Balarama[170] along with his hala in Brahmanical iconography to replace the Naga who as lord of water and procurer of rain was popular with the farmers. The Chargaon Naga statue was actually worshipped as the statue of Balarama. As Baladeva he is mentioned as a Nagaraja in the Mahavyutapatti.[171] There was equally an attempt to dominate the Nagas by Brahmanical deities. The leading instances are that of Krishna killing the Kaliya Naga 'the lord of the waters of the Yamuna', and Vishnu sleeping on the bed of Seshanaga under the canopy of its hood. The Nagas were therefore looked down as inferior deities. Serpents were as well associated with the linga of Siva. Similarly Buddhism and its propagators as well assimilated or subjugated the Nagas and their pantheon.[172] In this context the subduing of Naga Urvilva, worship of the Buddha by king Elapatra[173] and others are commonly mentioned in literature and illustrated in art. A Bas-relief in the Peshawar Museum shows king Elapatra visiting the Buddha in the Deer Park with a five headed snake in front of the seat on which the Lord is seated in the midst of his congregation.[174] In Mathura Art, the Nagas in human form are shown exactly like the Bodhisattva with the polycephalous serpent over the head of the former as a distinguish-

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ing feature. The Amravati medallion, now in the British Museum shows a Naga king with the hood at the back worshipping a relic casket.[175] The Jain Tirthankar Parsvanatha is distinguished by the Naga serpent hood. One bas-relief with an inscription dated in the year 99, shows a seven-hooded snake forming a canopy over the head of Tirthankar Parsvanatha,[176] with a Naga king standing in the attitude of supplication. It can thus be suggested that the Nagas were also worshippers of Jain Tirthankas, and so also the then prevailing religions tried to assimilate this popular cult and equally tried to demonstrate their superiority over the Nagas.

Besides inscriptions and art, the literature of the period as well refers to Naga worship. The Lalitavistara[177] refers to the invocation of Nagadhipati by the sea faring merchants. The same work as well refers to fear of the Nagas (Naga Sankshobhaya).[178] As lords of treasures, magic gems and spells, rewarding the virtuous with bounty, they were popular deities with the masses. In the Kathasaritasagara[179] there is a reference to a wonderful flute given by Naga Vasuneni to king Udayana. The Nagas could be equally dreadful if their anger was aroused, and could send down destructive hail storms.[180] The Nagas continued to be propitiated but attempts were made to subordinate them by the Brahmins, Buddhists and Jains. The Naga worshippers were, however, distinguished from the Naga families which figure prominently in the interregnum between the Kushanas and the Guptas.

Other Minor Religious Orders :

While epigraphic evidence is silent about the existence of other minor religious orders, the literature of the period however is positive on this point. It records existence of Ajivikas

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Lokayatikas, Charavakas, Parivrajakas, Sravakas and Jambukas. The Saddharmapundarika[181] enjoins Bodhisattva Manjusri not to wait upon persons of other sects including Charavakas, Parivrajakas, Ajivikas and Niganthas. The Ajivikas are noticed in the Lalitavistara[182] as well as in the Divyavadana.[183] The Ajivikas, however, continued to exist till the fourteenth century A.D. So also are the Hindu materialists - Lokayatikas and Charavakas figure in contemporary literature. The former knew by heart the mystic mantras,[185] and their philosophy of life as well figures in the Milindapanha[186] as a subject of study. King Milinda is described as fond of worldly disputations and was helpful in wrangling against the quibbles of Lokayatas and Vitandas.[187] The two systems are noticed as late as the fourteenth century A.D. in the Sarvadarsana-Sangraha[188] of Madhavacharya. The preponderance of materialism is represented by Charavaka, while Lokayata is considered as a branch of study aligned with cosmogomy, stars and other astrological phenomenon,[189] and its adherents are mentioned by Manu in the Amarakosa and by Kumarila.

The Charavakas noticed in the 'Lotus of the True Law' and the Lalitavistara,[191] denied the existence of the other world looking upon death as an end in itself. Charavaka was the general term for the Hindu epicureans. The Lokayatikas were distinguished for their stress on corporal organs constituting the soul.

Sivakas - Lakulisas & Pasupatas :

Lakuli, the founder of the sect named after him is placed by D.R.Bhandarkar in the first quarter of the second century A.D. It is noticed in the Mathura Pillar inscription of the year 61 of the Gupta era. Uditacharya, the donor of two images of this record

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was the Mahesvara teacher, tenth in descent from Kusika, pupil of Lakuli. The latter, according to the Puranas, was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the 'Pasupata' or Mahesvara yoga. This Gupta record thus sheds light on the existence of a certain school in the Kushana period which followed certain religious practices. The Milindapanha refers to Sivakas while Saiva artefacts include the Sivalinga from Gigle (Mathura district) of this period. The inscription[193] on palaeographic grounds belongs to the second century A.D. It records dedication of Siva linga, representing a particular local deity Satisvara. It mentions the Isvaranta name. It appears that the linga worshippers associated with the cult of Lakulisa formed an order of their own, believing in the performance of austerities.

In a review of the religious conditions in the Kushana period in northern India, the prominent feature was the spirit of toleration and eclecticism which was generated by the rulers, despite the personal preference of Savism by Wima Kadphise and the succeeding rulers as evinced from their coins. Brahmanism was a living force in all its forms and formalities from the Vedic sacrifices to the propitiation of Saiva and Vaishnava divinities. Buddhism was equally flourishing with its conservative school of the Sthaviravadins - the Sarvastivadins, the progressive one of the Mahasanghikas. The fourth Buddhist council was held in the time of Kanishka who was equally a patron of Buddhism. The Jains too had Mathura as their strong hold which was also the centre of Naga worshippers. The Hindu materialists as well were not inconspicuous and so also were other minor religious orders. On the whole, it was an age of understanding and peaceful co-existence though religious differences and disputations were not wanting

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even among the members of a particular religious school. It may now be desirable to concentrate on the state of religion particularly Buddhism at the northern end of the Kushana empire in Central Asia.

Buddhism in Central Asia :

The introduction and subsequent expansion of Buddhism in Central Asia was not a uniform phenomenon, as different areas in that part of Asia received the message of the Tathagata in different periods and through many channels as well. These included royal emissaries, individual scholars and the trading and merchant class who might have contributed materially towards its expansion. The history of Buddhism in the south-western part comprising Afghanistan and Tokharistan as also the neighbouring eastern areas might be dated from the time of the Indo-Bactrians, although the teachings of the Lord reached there much earlier. The Kandahar bilingual edict[194] of Asoka is considered as an eloquent testimonial to the extension of Buddhism in the direction of Central Asia proper. In this context Bagchi earlier proposed[195] that Buddhism was introduced in Balkh in the time of Asoka who speaks of his effortise to introduce his dharma among the peoples of Gandhara, Kamboja and Yonadesa. The Kambojas were probably a branch of the Tukhara people while the Yonas were no doubt the Bactrian Greeks. A legend recorded by Hsuan-tsang[196] refers to the first two disciples of Buddha, Trapus and Bhallika as propagators of Buddhism in that country. They were merchants of the kingdom of Bahlika (Balkh). The march of Buddhism to the north of Afghanistan is also borne out by a Kharoshti inscription[197] on a clay object recorded recovered from the Begram excavations in the first layer, placed between the third and second century B.C. The foundation of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom no

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doubt contributed to the expansion of Buddhism within its domain in the first two centuries preceding the Christian era. Both Demetrius and Menander were interested in Buddhism and were its patrons.[198] Bactria and Tokharistan - the homeland of the Tusharas had developed into centres of Buddhism and it was from there that the religion of the Tathagata flowed into China. The Yueh-Chi prince, according to Wei-Liu, a third century source, is reported to have acquainted the Chinese with the presentation of Buddhist texts.

The famous scholar Ghoshaka, born in Tokharistan, played a prominent role at the Fourth Buddhist Council in Purushpura. He was the author of the Commentary of the Abhidharma Vibhasha which was compiled there. The Vaibhashika school, a branch of the Sarvastivadin sect of Buddhism, was wide-spread in western Turkestan. Some elements in the Vaibhashika doctrine are supposed to have brought it closer[199] to Mahayanism which flourished in Khotan in later times. The role of the Tokharian Buddhist monks in the propagation of Buddhism in China was consistent, since they are distinguished from others with the word Che (from Yueh-Che) as prefix to their names. It is said that the first two missionaries to China sent in A.D. 68, namely Kasyapa Matang and Dharmaraksha were met by the Chinese ambassador in the country of the Yueh-Chi.[200] A monk of rare learning named Lokakshema of Tukhara origin went to Loyang in A.D. 147 and translated some of the most important Buddhist texts into Chinese.

Besides Tokharistan, Parthia and Kubha (Kabul) also furnished a number of scholars. The Mahavamsa[201] refers to the visit of the wise Mahadeva from Pallavabhagga with 46,000 monks to Ceylon to participate in the great stupa laying of foundation ceremony in

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the time of Duttagamini. The authenticity of the information need not be disputed. The real interest of the Parthians is supposed to be only after its establishment in Tocharistan[202] under the Kushanas. The Chinese accounts do refer to a number of Iranian Buddhist scholars who went to China in the second and third centuries A.D. and collaborated in the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese. It may, however, be proposed on the basis of reference to the Parthian monk An-Shi-Kao[203] who visited China in the second century A.D. that Parthia had already a long tradition of Buddhism. The names of Parthian Buddhist monks in Chinese are distinguished by the prefix An (Ngan) from the old Chinese name of Parthia. The Chinese historian mentions the Parthian prince Ngan-She-Kao (same as An-Sheh-Kao) or Lokottana who appeared in the western frontier country of China with a number of Buddhist texts after the fall of the Arscidian dynasty in A.D. 148. Another Parthian scholar named Ngan-Huan[204] came to Loyang as a merchant. He became a Buddhist monk and collaborated with Yen-Fo-thiao in translating two works in Chinese.

Besides the Tocharians and the Parthians, the Sogdians originally from their centres at Samarkand, who were famous traders and had their colonies in different parts of Central Asia, were associated with Buddhism and its expansion. Their names are distinguished by the prefix kang, as the ancient name of Sogdiana in China was Kang-Kiu. Some of these monks had collaborated with Ngan-She-Kao. An illustrated Sogdian monk who worked in South China in the third century A.D. was Seng-Hui.[205] He was the first to introduce Buddhism in Southern China.

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The spread of Buddhism in Central Asia was no doubt stimulated with the formation of the Kushana empire, over-shadowing the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The first ruler Kujula Kadphises calls him 'as steadfas-t in true law' (Sachhadhrama-thitasa = Satyadharma sthitasya)[206] with the figure of Buddha depicted on his coins. Reference has already been made to Kanishka and his contribution to Buddhism though he firmly believed in eclecticism - with the figures of divinities of different religions - including that of Buddha portrayed on his coins. The finds of potsherds from Kara-Tepe with letters in Brahmi script point to the spread of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism in Western Turkestan in the time of Kanishka.[207] The same site also yielded inscribed pot-sherds in Kharoshti reflecting the teachings of the Mahasanghika school. Further, the references to pioneer Buddhist savants instrumental in translating Buddhist texts into Chinese, and coming from the country of the Yueh-Chi indirectly points to the kingdom of the Kushanas as their homeland. Thus, one such scholar was Chih-Chien,[208] also known as Chih-Yueh, grandson of a native of the land of the Yueh-Chi who had settled at Loyang. The other famous scholar of Yueh-Chi kingdom, Dharmaraksha,[209] who had worked between A.D. 266 and 309, belonged to Tun-huang where his ancestors had settled down earlier. It has been calculated that among the trans-lators engaged in rendering Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, some-time before the end of the Western Chiu dynasty (A.D. 265-316) there were six or seven of Chinese and six of Indian origin, as also sixteen belonging to various Central Asian nationalities - six Yueh-Chi, four Parthians, three Sogdians, two Kucheans and one Khotanese. There are also indications of Central Asian monks engaged in Buddhist activities in north-western India and in the Taxila

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region in the Kushana period.

Buddhism and the Southern States :

The southern route kingdoms forming part of Chinese Turkestan - namely Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan and various sites of Kroraina were important centres of Buddhism and its activities. A famous scholar from Takshasila, Kumaralata,[210] was brought to Kashgar and was the founder of the Sautrantika school of Buddhism. He was a contemporary of Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna and Aryadeva. He is reported to have written many treatises, but only one book the Kalpanamanditika,[211] a recast of the Sutralankara of Asvaghosha was partially discovered from Chinese Turkestan. Kashgar, because of its strategic position had played a significant role in the transmission of Indian culture and Buddhism to the northern and southern states of the Tarim basin. Fa-hien visiting this place in the fourth century A.D. found Buddhism in a prosperous state. He also witnessed the quinquennial assembly (panchavarshika). At that time Kashgar had more than two thousand monks,[212] all followers of Hinayana Buddhism. This number had swelled up to ten thousand in Hsuan-tsang's time,[213] belonging to the same school and many of them could recite the Tripitaka and the Vibhasha - all in Sanskrit. Among the prominent scholars from India who stayed here were Buddhayasa of Kashmir and Kumarajiva of Kucha who had his education in Kashmir and on way back had stayed here for a year. Buddhayasa was of great help to Kumarajiva in his academic pursuits at Kashgar. A number of old Buddhist stupa found at various sites around Kashgar are suggestive of the importance of this place as a centre of Buddhist activities and its scholars.

The country of Chu-Kiu-Kia, identified with Cokkuka in Central Asian documents[214] presently Karghalik - Yarkand was another

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Buddhist centre. In the time of Hsuan-tsang the people there were earnest Buddhists with tens of monasteries and more than a hundred monks who were all followers of Mahayanism. The tradition of this school could be traced to the fourth century A.D. with two princes of Cokkukqua Suryabhadra and Suryasena going to Kashgar to receive initiation from Kumarajiva. They also studied Mahayana Buddhist texts with him.

Khotan had received the Buddhist wave earlier in the time of Vijaya Sambhava who was grandson of Kustane and the monk Vairochana, an incarnation of Maitreya came here. The great monastery of Tsar-ma[215] was supposed to have been built by Vijaya Sambhava for this monk. It is identified by Aurel Stein with Chelms = Kazan near Yon Ken. A number of other monasteries were built during the reign of subsequent rulers. Three Arhats from India - Buddhadata, Khagata and Khagadrod went to Khotan and a later king Vijayavirya built two monasteries for them. The Chinese princes Punesvara[216] queen of king Vijayajaya also built two monasteries in honour of Kalyanamitra who had gone there from India. The ruler's eldest son Dharmananda, who became a Buddhist monk, was a follower of the Mahasanghika school and built several monasteries. In Hsuan-tsang's time there were a hundred monasteries in the capital with five thousand monks who were all followers of the Mahayana school of Buddhism. Much earlier in the year 259, a Chinese monk named Chu-Sho-king came to Khotan for a first hand study of Buddhism under eminent teachers. In a few years time he collected 9000 bundles of original Buddhist texts which he managed to send home through his disciples Fo-jo-tan. He died in Khotan at the age of 80. These were translations by a Khotanese Buddhist scholar Mokshala[217] who went to China in A.D. 29. He was

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assisted by an Indian monk Sukta-ratna. Khotan was a great centre of Mahayana school of Buddhism. Dharmakshema[218] of Magadha working in Liang-Chou had come to Khotan for tracing the los-t portion of his incomplete manuscript of Maha-parinir-vana-sutra which he translated into Chinese.

Besides evidence from the Chinese source material, the finds of Buddhist monuments - stupas and sculptural figures, stucco statues of Buddha or Bodhisattvas as also painted panels from nearby sites do provide indication of efflorescence of Buddhism in this part of Central Asia. It is proposed[219] by Aurel Stein that Indian elements - the use of Sanskrit and Brahmi script preceded Buddhism in Khotan. A large number of old Buddhist sites excavated in the desert at Dandan-Uiliq have revealed stucco images and reliefs. The Rawak Stupa[220] at a distance of only 7 miles to its north has exposed Buddhist images mostly of the Gandhara school. Ruins of Buddhist stupas have also been found at other sites.

Buddhism and Buddhist scholars in Northern States :

The States on the northern route - Akshu, Kucha, Agni-desa or Karasahr and Kao-Chang or Turfan - were of one racial stock in ancient times with a common language but with slight difference of a local culture. The language is termed Kuchean. The exact date of introduction of Buddhism in Kucha is not known but it could not have been later than the end of the 1st century A.D., allowing it to take deep roots before blossoming in its full form in about the third century A.D. According to the Annals of the Tsin dynasty[221] (A.D. 265-316) there were nearly one thousand ~~stu~~ Buddhist stupas and temples in Kucha at that

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time. The Buddhist monks from Kucha started moving to China from this time, and the pioneer monk from the royal family Po-Yen 222 came to the Chinese capital in A.D. 256-260. He translated six Buddhist texts into Chinese in 258 at the famous Buddhist temple of Po-ma-Sse at Loyang. Another scholar from Kucha, Po-Srimitra, 223 went to China during the period 307-312. The fourth century witnessed intense Buddhist activity in Kucha both at home and outside. The palace of the ruler looked like a Buddhist monastery with standing image of Buddha carved in stone. There were a number of monasteries controlled by Fo-to-She-mi (Buddhasvamin) who was a great scholar, a follower of the Agamas - the Hinayana. His brilliant disciple Kiu-Kiu-lo (Kumara), probably Kumarajiva of great fame in his time, was a Mahayanist.

Kumarajiva and his Contribution : 224

There were several monasteries for nuns which were equally controlled by Buddhasvamin. Kumarajiva played an important role in the dissemination and expansion of Buddhism both in Central Asia as well as in China. He introduced Mahayanism in the countries of the Tarim basin and also in China in a more responsible and authoritative manner. He was one of the greatest exponents of Mahayanism and also of the Madhyamika philosophy. His contemporaries included many savants of Kucha like Vimalaksha who first stayed in Kucha before joinging Kumarajiva in China in A.D. 401. Other collaborators included Dharmamitra who too had come to Kucha from India, Buddhabhadra, another Kashmirian scholar, who as well followed the same course. Kucha had both cultural and religious contacts with Kashmir which was noted for Buddhism and its savants. The father of Kumarajiva - Kumarayana - had renounced his claim

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to hereditary succession as minister and joined the Buddhist order. He crossed the Pamirs and reached Kucha where he was appointed royal priest. The regal princess, Jiva, became enamoured of him and they both married. Kumarajiva was the issue from this marital union - taking his name after both father and mother. The young princess joined the Buddhist order as nun and the young boy with his mother returned to Kashmir where he studied under Bandhudatta. After three years intensive study, the mother and son decided to return to Kucha and passing through the kingdom of the Yueh-Chi (Tokharistan) they reached Sha-le (Kashgar) where Kumarajiva studied the whole of Abhidharmapitaka with the Kashmirian scholar Buddhayasa who was then in Kashgar. He also studied the four Vedas, five sciences, Brahmanical sacred texts Satasastra and the Madhyamakasastra.

Kumarajiva became an erudite scholar at the age of twelve and was well-versed in canonical literature. He took holy orders at the age of twenty at the king's palace in Kucha which had at that time more than 10,000 monks. The later history of Kumarajiva's career centres round his activities in China where he was carried away by the Chinese expedition under Lu-Kuang. His academic contributions, particularly the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese, form part of the study under the caption 'Literature'. The religious condition, particularly the state of Buddhism in Central Asia, was in a flourishing stage. The Kushan State existing at Tokharistan encouraged Buddhism and its Savants, as appears from the account of Kumarajiva and his parents.

Other Buddhist Scholars :

Among the important Buddhist scholars of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. might be mentioned Buddhayasa

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originally from a Brahmin family of Kashmir or Kubha ; Buddhabhadra[226] from Nagarahara who completed his Buddhist studies at the age of seventeen and had met Fa-hien in Kashmir ; Sanghabhuti,[227] Gautama Sanghadeva[228] and Punyatrata.[229] These were eminent Buddhist scholars who went to China by the end of the fourth century A.D. and collaborated with Kumarajiva. Buddhayasa and Gunavarman[230] were equally great scholars who had mastered the Buddhist canons in all its canons.

The study of Buddhism in Central Asia is recorded here on the basis of the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims who passed through this vast region and noticed in their times a large number of monasteries as also monks and nuns there. The archaeological finds of stupas and sculptures and paintings equally provide information relating to the prosperous state of Buddhism - both Hinayana and Mahayana. According to the Chinese pilgrims, Shau-Shen (near Lop-nor), Turfan, Kucha and Kashgar were Hinayanist centres, while Yarkand and Khotan were Mahayanist. The terminus a quo of Buddhist art, religion and philosophy could be any time in the first century A.D., though traditional accounts, especially in relation to Khotan could place this event a couple of centuries earlier. Khotan was probably the starting point of Buddhist activities and the religion of the Tathagata was first carried from there to China. The earliest Chinese notice of Buddhism in Kashgar and Kucha could be dated from the third century A.D. (Annals of the Tsin - 265-317 A.D.) and later on the account of Fa-hien. The two schools of Buddhism were no doubt prominent in specific areas and centres. Fa-hien (c. 400 A.D.) found Hinayana prevalent in Shan-Shan, Kucha, Kashgar, Osh, Udayana and Gandhara. Hsuan-tsang recorded its presence in Balkh, Bamyan and even in Iran. Both

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the schools seem to have co-existed everywhere, as for instance, Hsuan-tsang mentions[231] his disputation with a Mahayanist scholar at Kucha which was a centre of the Hinayanists.

Brahmanism :

Besides Buddhism with its two important schools, there are traces of other religions and cultures mingling in the Tarim basin and the lands of the Oxus. It is quite likely that besides Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity as also Manichaeism not only prospered there but also inter-acted with their impact on Buddhism. Hinduism in its two aspects - Vaishnavism and Saivism, with its gods and goddesses entered Central Asia quite early. The famous record[232] from Vidisa inscribed on a column refers to Heliodorus, son of Dion, as a Bhagavata, a worshipper of Vishnu. He came to Vidisa from the court of Antialkideφ of Takshasila during the fourteenth year of the reign of the Indian ruler Kasiputra Bhagabhadra. The Krishna legend seems to travelled outside India during the second century B.C. According to Zenob's story of Indians in Armenia, Gisane (Kisane) and Demeta (Demeta) two Indian chiefs were put to death but their sons lived there, and set up two temples of their gods (Gisane and Demeter, named after their fathers). These were later on razed to the ground by saint Gregory despite stiff resistance.[233] It is suggested that the temples were those of Krishna and Balarama. The Narayana cult, probably associated with Vaishnavism, is noticed in an inscription[234] discovered in 1956 in Tajikistan. It refers to Narayana be victorious - Jayato). On palaeographic ground the inscription can be attributed to the second-first century B.C. In case this Narayana is equated with Vishnu, then the record could be associated with Vaishnavism in Central Asia more than a century before Christ.

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On the other hand Narayana, the Buddha, is mentioned in the Khotanese Saka documents from Eastern Turkestan, and Narayana, the deva occurs in the Buddhist Sogdian documents.[235] In a Tun-huang painting Narayana on Garuda is shown as attendant of Avalokitesvara.[236] Since Garuda is the vahana of Vishnu, it is likely that the artist had the Brahmanical deity in mind while painting his object.

The reference to Vishnu worship along with that of Siva and Surya is evident from the famous Nicolo seal which was first noticed by Cunningham.[237] In his words, the device consists of the four-armed Vishnu with a devotee standing by his side with folded hands showing obeisance. Further, an inscription deciphered by Ghirshman[238] in Tocharian language mentions the name of Mihira, Vishnu and Siva. The devotee, according to the late French scholar, is not the Kusana king Huvishka, but some Hephthalite chief and the use of the Tocharian language suggests that a composite cult of Siva, Vishnu and Surya was popular with certain peoples of Central Asia about 500 A.D. Definite Vaishnavite influence is also traced in a Buddha image from Balawaste,[239] now in the National Museum, New Delhi. The body and arms of the figure are covered with symbols or devices, including the Srivatsa, diamonds, mandara as churning rod, horse Uchcheahsrava (suggestive of the churning of the ocean), the sun, the moon, vajras, books, triangle and circles - all mystic elements depicting the Visvarupa aspect of the Buddha on the model of Krishna's visvarupa of the Gita. It is suggestive of the cosmic aspect of the Tathagata and not the Sakyamuni.

Saivism, however, seems to be more popular in Central Asia with its amalgam with Buddhism effected by Asanga, the well-known philosopher about A.D. 400. The Saiva pantheons accepted by the

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Buddhists, holding their imagination for a long time and over a wider area. The figure of Siva appears on the coins of Gondopheres, Maues and others. An elaborate Siva pantheon is represented on the coins of the Kushana rulers.[240] The popularity of Saivism extended to Sogdiana and Eastern Turkestan, as is evident from a fragment of a wall painting from Penjikent[241] on the river Zervashan. Siva here is portrayed with a sacred halo and a decorated sacred thread (Yajnopavita) and he stands in aliaha pose. He is clad in a tiger skin while his attendants are putting on Sogdian dress - an ornamented long coat with open collar. Certain finds in Dandan-Uiliq and the neighbouring sites of the Taklamakan desert suggest extension of Saivism to Eastern or Chinese Turkestan. An interesting representation of Siva on a painted wooden panel (D. VII.6) shows him three-faced and four-armed, seated cross-legged on a cushioned seat supported by two couchant bulls. The rich diadem on the central head with the side ornament resembling a half moon, the third eye on the forehead, the tiger skin forming the loin cloth (dhoti) and finally the bull as his vahana are all symbolical of the Brahmanic God Siva.[242] Another panel from Dandan-Uiliq depicts[243] a four-armed Trimurti form of Siva and his Sakti kneeling on her right thigh. The god sits cross-legged, clothed in tight fitting long-sleeved white vest. Traces of the third eye are visible. Siva is four-armed with a massive armlet on the left arm, the other resting on thigh and holding vajra. The lower right hand is thrown round the neck of the Sakti. The deity has a long neck cord tied into bows at intervals. His hair is long and wavy and the crown is of Iranian type. The face to the left is fearful and the third eye is clearly visible. The Sakti dressed in a long stola with tight sleeves to wrist holds a cup in her right ah hand which

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she is handing to the deity.

Another Tri-murti figure from Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, now in the National Museum,[244] is equally suggestive of the popularity of Saivism in that area. The deity sits full face with head slightly turned to left. The other two heads project either side from behind ears. The central face has a third eye in the forehead and a long thin moustache. The eyes are heavy-lidded and dreamy. The deity has four arms, the two upraised ones hold the sun to left and the moon to right, a pomegranate in the lower right hand, and the left one resting on the thigh, probably grasping a vajra (?). The conspicuous Saiva features are the third eye on the central head, the skull on the head dress and the three heads with four forms.

The Brahmanical divinities noticed in Central Asian art include besides Siva, Ganesa, Kumar, Karttikeya, Brahma, Indra, the Sun and the Moon and all the Lokapala. Brahma is noticed, according to Coomarswamy,[245] on the caves of Kucha area. A fragment of wall painting from Balawaste, now in the National Museum, New Delhi,[246] is supposed to be that of Indra. The figure is either kneeling or sitting cross-legged, his body leaning forward and head tilting back. The eyes are down cas-t and hands folded and uplifted to neck-level. The head is covered with a close fitting cap with a head band in dark pink studded with pearls. The face is Indian and the figure puts on various types of ornaments and a mukuta-yajnopavita. The presence of the eye on the head identifies the figure as Indra. The Tun-huang paintings depict Ganesa, Kumara, the Sun and the moon. The popularity of Ganesa in the Khotan area is evident from a number of bronze tablets and painted wooden panels discovered by Aurel Stein at Endere, now in the

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British Museum.[247] The four-armed god with an elephant head is shown seated wearing tiger skin, dhoti and tight trouser. He has a rosary of dots and holds a bowl of fruits or sweetballs, a spear head, a tornip and an axe. Ganesa is also depicted on certain wooden tablets from Dandan-Uiliq[248] and so also is a fine figure of this god in cave 285 of Tun-huang.[249] Karttikeya is represented in a wall painting from Bezaklik[250] seated on a bird, with one leg hanging down and the other lucked up in front. Mohakala and Garuda are shown carrying away the nectar after the famous sea churning. The image has a demon's head and he is shown seated on a Yak-tail. The Lokapalas are full absorbed in Buddhism. These projections of the four quarters are shown in Central Asian art[251] as warrior kings gorgeously dressed with armours, sometimes accompanied by Yakshas or demons. The four well-known Lokapalas are Dhritrashha, Virudhaka, Virupaksha and Vaishravana.

Besides Brahmanical divinities depicted in the art of Central Asia, mythological legends connected with Brahmanism, as also other epic stories were also known to the Central Asian people. The story of Ramayana in Khotan legend is somewhat different, but the reference to Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Dasaratha and also Parasurama is significant. H.W.Bailey has discussed[252] the question of Ramayana in Central Asia thoroughly in his paper. The Kharoshthi inscriptions as well provide names of epic herds like Bhima and Arjuna of the Mahabharata fame. There are scores of Brahmanical names in such records. Reference has earlier been made to the Kushana rulers and their preference for Brahmanical deity Siva and Skanda, Kumara and Visakha. The former figurely prominently on the coins of all the rulers from Kanishka onward, while Huvishka has the sons of Siva as well depicted on his coins. Kanishka no doubt believed

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in eclecticism - all being manifestations of the same spirit.

Zoroastrianism :

The Surkh Kotal inscription discovered by Maricq below the front wall of the sanctuary of Surkh Kotal[253] refers to Kanishka constructing a sanctuary which was named after him Kaniska-bargo. He introduced a cult in which the preparation of Haoma played an important part. He inaugurated the sanctuary by making an offering to the god Mithra. Kanishka later on is called 'Son of exalted Mithra'. Kanishka's interest in Zorastrianism is equally evident from the portrayal of many Zoroastrian deities[254] on his coins. This was possible only if there were followers of this cult in this area of Central Asia. The Tang Annals describe not only Buddhism as flourishing in Khotan but also the 'cult of the Celestial god' by which the Zoroastrian religion is to be understood. It is proposed by Harmata[255] that Mihro was the patron god of the early Kushanas as also Maho on the basis of the epithet 'Mahozinigo' borne by Vima Kadphises in the Bactrian inscription D.N. 1 meaning 'protege of the Moon god'. The Hungarian professor as well proposed that the Kushanas also had their dynastic fire as did the Araacids and Sasanians, and this was placed on the platform of temple A at Surkh Kotal. According to him, possibly the dynastic fire cult was taken over by the Kushanas from Iran in the same manner as the title 'King of Kings'.

Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity :

It is difficult to assign any definite date for the introduction of Manichaeism in Central Asia.[256] This religion of Main or Manes is usually classed under the term Gnosticism. It arose in Babylonia about the middle of the third century A.D. and during many generations exercised great influence both in the East and the

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and the West. The fragments of manuscripts relating to this religion were discovered in Central Asia confirming its existence in that area. The finds in a polyglot library at Tun-huang included a remarkable manuscript exhibited a third variety of the Scyric script transplanted to Central Asia. The Turfan excavations and finds no doubt point to the existence of Mani's Church in Central Asia, sharing the sacred site with the Buddhist cult, and with Christian worship too, though remaining for centuries a formidable rival to both of them. According to Al-Biruni,[258] Main himself says that 'wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to man-kind by the messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zaradust (Zoroaster) to Persia, in another by Jesus to the west. Thereupon this revelation has come down, the prophecy in this last age, through one Main, the messenger of God of truth to Babylonia. While the date of the introduction of Manichaeism in Central Asia is uncertain, its existence in the centuries following the period of the Kushanas cannot be denied. Its impact on Buddhism, particularly Main's own prophecy that he was the last of the four messengers of God, is furthered by Manichaeon deities being represented like Bodhisattvas sitting cross-legged on a lotus. Main as well receives the epithet Ju-lai or Tathagata as in Amita's Paradise. The Chinese edict of 739 A.D. however accuses Manichaeism of falsely taking the name of Buddha and Buddhism and deceiving the people. The patron of Manichaeism in Central Asia were the Uighurs and their Khan adopted around A.D. 750 Manichaeism as the State religion. The many manuscripts in Sogdian and other Persian dialects found at Turfan show that it had an old and close connection with the west.

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The advent of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia is an established fact since it was prominent in the seventh century A.D. Fragments of the New Testament were found at Turfan. The Nestorian stone bearing a long inscription,[259] partly in Chinese and partly in Syriac, provides a long account of the doctrines and history of Nestorianism. The inscription also contains many Buddhist phrases, such as Seng and Ssu for Christian priests and monasteries. It seems that Buddhism and Christianity co-existed in Central Asia in later times, but it is difficult to propose that such a state did exist earlier in the Kushana period or even later on. Of course, it is quite likely that there might have been some adherents of this faith as well as those subscribing to Manichaeism without much impact on Buddhism in the period under study.

Religion in Central Asia in the Kushana period and even after is but a saga of Buddhism, its savants and scholars and their contribution to Buddhist literature - both sacred and secular. The enormous breadth of the landscape, covering states in the north and the south on the two international routes, provided bases for the setting up of Buddhistic establishments having scholar immigrants from Kashmir and Kubha (Kabul). The Indian influence was pronounced and the form it assumed was no doubt related to the religious conditions of India at that time. In course of time Buddhism took new forms. Stress was laid on moral ideals not personal perfection or individual salvation - but happiness of all living creatures. Buddha's life was a manifestation of a cosmic force, revealing itself in countless other Buddhas - the rulers of paradise in the other world. Faith in a Buddha, especially in Amitabha, could secure re-birth in his paradise. So also Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjusri were splendid angels of mercy and knowledge for mitigating

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the sufferings of the masses. Buddhism became a living and a challenging stream of thought. Indian thought including Buddhism was vivified and transmited by two great currents of feeling - demanding emotional morality and more personal and equally sympathetic deities. Foreign influence stimulated mythology and imagery. Buddhism thus passed into the hands of men accustomed to Greek statuary - thus providing the inclination to venerate definite personalities having different shapes. The religions of India particularly Hinduism - both Savism and Vaishnavism, and Buddhism entered Central Asia where these Indian religions had impact with Zoroastrianism and even Pre-Zoroastrian modes of worship, as also the Greek and Roman divinities and their votaries, particularly in Bactria. They adopted the policy of syncretising different religious currents and finally evolved the concept of eclectism which was not unknown in India. Buddhism, however, was the prominent religion in Central Asia with its new and evolved forms and norms, more progressive and more egalitarian fully interested in the welfare and emancipation of all.

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FOOTNOTES

1. JBBRAS. XX. pp. 356 ff.
2. The Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 112.
3. Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, pp. 29-30
4. Vogel : Catalogue. Mathura Museum. No. Q 13.
5. IX. 6.43.
6. EI. XXIII. pp. 245 ff.
7. EI. XIX.
8. IA. LVIII. p. 53.
9. ASI, An. Rep. 1906-7. pp. 59 ff.
10. ibid. 1904-5. p. 120.
11. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.
12. JRAS. 1924. No. 3. p. 397.
13. Luder's List No. 10.
14. p. 620.14
15. Vol. II. p. 91.
16. ibid I, p. 245.
17. VII. p. 120.
18. Satapatha II. 1.3.1
19. XIII. 334.
20. IX. 112.3.
21. The identity of Nana with the Mother Goddess Amba was suggested by me more than ~~twenty~~ forty years back (IC. VIII. pp. 225 ff). Lucky
22. I. 37-38.
23. Div. 587.19 ; Mah. I. p. 245 ; Lalit. VIII. p. 120.
24. Suzuki : The Awakening of Truth, p. 23.
25. p. 137.
26. XVIII. 59.
27. XIII. p. 71 ; XXXVI. p. 195 ; Lalit. VIII. 120.
28. p. 587.13.
29. Carmichael Lectures, p. 23.

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30. V. 3. 99, p. 429 (Kielhorn ed.).

31. Vaishnavis-m and Saivism, p. 151.

32. Lalit. VIII. p. 120 ; Mah. I. p. 245.

33. The comment on the Sutra Jivikarthe chapanye questions the validity of the dropping of ka in such forms as Sivah, Skandah and Visakhah. Since the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold sold objects of worship (hiranyarthibhir archah prakalpitah). According to the Bhashyakara, these gods were not mentioned in pairs in Vedic literature, but only in loka (lokavedayor yo dvandyas tatra yatha syat). It is clear that they were earlier than the time of Patanjali. (India in the time of Patanjali, p. 182).

34. Lalit. V. p. 39 ; VIII. p. 120.

35. Rv. V. 5.85.

36. XIII. p. 71.10.

37. Lalit. V. p. 39.

38. For images of Brahmanical deities see - Vogel - Cat. Mat. Mus. pp. 94-106 ; V.S.Agarwal : Cat. Mat. Mus. in JUPHS 1949, pp. 102-210. The references here are those of the label numbers, given in the Catalogue, or otherwise supplied by the ~~Ex~~-Curator ~~Prof~~. K.D.Bajpai, ~~now of the~~ Sagar University, from the acquisition register. A fuller treatment of the images of Brahmanical divinities is reserved for the chapter on Art & Literature.

39. P. 134.24.

40. CII. II(i) pp. 30 ff.

41. JRAS. 1932. pp. 949 ff.

42. CII. (II(i). pp. 135 ff.

43. ibid. p. 142.

44. ibid. p. 155.

45. ibid.

46. EI. VIII. p. 180.

47. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7, pp. 96 ff.

48. ibid, 1904-5, p. 68.

49. ibid, 1909-10, p. 66.

50. Vogel. Cat. No. A 66.

51. CII. II(1), pp. 165 ff.

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52. JUPHS. July 1939. No. XIII. p. 23.
53. ibid. No. XI. p. 22.
54. ibid. No. XII. p. 23.
55. EI. XIX. p. 69. No. 9.
56. Proc. Ind. Hist. Con. (Hyderabad), p. 163.
57. JUPHS, July 1939, p. 24, No. XIV.
58. Mah. III. p. 461.
59. Johnston : Budd. Car. Intro. p. xxiv.
60. Saun. XII. 16.
61. IV. 60.
62. VII. p. 91.15
63. Intro. p. XXXV.
64. Saun. V. 33.
65. Rockhill : Life of the Buddha, pp. 190 ff.
66. Przyluski : JA. 1914. II. pp. 493 ff.
67. Chap. XII.
68. Hinduism and Buddhism, II. p. 80.
69. pp. 95, 127, 490.
70. p. 473.
71. VII. p. 913.5.
72. Vol. I, p. 177 ff of Kern. Manual of Buddhism, p. 67.
73. EI. XIX, p. 69, No. VII.
74. CII. II(i), pp. 165 ff.
75. Luder's List No. 1105, 1106.
76. ERE. VIII. p. 331.
77. IV. 60.
78. Sadh. Pun. V. 32.
79. ibid. V. 44.
80. ibid. V. 39.

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81. Vol. I. Chap. XXIV.
82. Kern. Op.cit. p. 120.
83. Saun. V. 32.
84. ibid. V. 39.
85. ibid. XV. 33.
86. VII. p. 91.9
87. ibid. XIV. p. 191.15.
88. p. XI. 243.
89. Budd. Char. XII. 106.
90. Saun. V. 32.
91. ibid. V. 47.
92. Eliot. Op.cit. II. p. 85.
93. Winternitz : History of Indian Literature. II. p. 347.
94. Div. p. 50.28 ; cf. Ang. Nik. I. 10 ; Vin. I. 32.
95. Div. p. 21.17.
96. ibid. p. 485.7.
97. ibid. p. 429.3.
98. ibid. p. 612.1.
99. ibid. p. 489.11.
100. Vol. I. p. 289.19.
101. Div. p. 613.27.
102. Mil. p. 383 ; cf. Digha. II. 105 ; Vin. I. 18.
103. Div. p. 465. 4.
104. AS. II. p. 95.
105. No. XXXVIII.
106. Vikrama Adventures - Introduction
107. EI. I. p. 381, No. I.
108. ibid. p. 395, No. 27 ; p. 385, No. 7.
109. ibid. p. 391, No. 20.
110. ibid. p. 385, No. 6.

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111. EI. II. p. 209, No. 36.

112. EI. I. p. 386, No. 8.

113. EI. II. p. 204, No. 20.

114. EI. II. p. 262, No. 13.

115. EI. I. p. 388, No. 12.

116. ibid. p. 399, No. 21.

117. ibid. p. 391, No. 4.

118. Luder's List No. 1345.

119. Bhattacharya : Jain Iconography, p. 37.

120. Luder's List Nos. 53, 54 ; 10, 29, 55.

121. ibid No. 1092 ; 37, 39, 76, 102.

122. D.R.Bhandarkar, Volume. pp. 281 ff.

123. Luder's List No. 102.

124. EI. II. p. 199 No. 2.

125. ibid. p. 202, No. 5.

126. EI. I. p. 396. No. 23.

127. EI. II. p. 204, No. 20.

128. Smith : The Jain Stupa, p. LXII.

129. VIII. p. 216.

130. EI. X. p. 110, No. 4.

131. EI. II. p. 203, No. 18.

132. EI. I. p. 383, No. 4.

133. EI. II. p. 203, No. 18 ; EI. I. p. 391. No. 21.

134. EI. I. p. 386, No. 8.

135. VIII. p. 231.

136. EI. II. p. 210.

137. EI. II. p. 206, No. 26.

138. ibid No. 36.

139. VIII. p. 320.

140. ibid. p. 230.

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141. EI. I. p. 391, No. 19.

142. IA. XXXIII. p. 105, No. 23.

143. Kalpasutra. VIII. p. 230.

144. EI. I. p. 382, No. 2.

145. VIII. p. 231.

146. EI. I. p. 382, Nos. 3 & 7.

147. ibid. p. 381, No. 22.

148. Luder's List No. 122.

149. ibid Nos. 20, 121.

150. ibid Nos. 469, 558.

151. Op. cit.

152. Luder's List No. 39.

153. ibid. Nos. 24, 70.

154. ibid. No. 50.

155. ibid. No. 48.

156. ibid. Nos. 28, 47.

157. D.R.Bhandarkar Volume. p. 288.

158. ibid.

159. Luder's List No. 48.

160. ibid. Nos. 29, 43.

161. EI. XVII. p. 10.

162. EI. I. p. 390, No. 18 ; IX. p. 243.

163. Vogel : Cat. Mat. Mus. No. C. 14, p. 88.

164. ibid. No. C. 16, p. 90.

165. EI. I. p. 396, No. 33.

166. Vol. III. p. 308. 14.

167. Contribution to the Science of Mythology, pp. 595.

168. ERE. XI. p. 406.

169. III. 26. 27.

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170. Rao : Hindu Iconography. Vol. I. p. 134.

171. Minayeff. p. 48.

172. Mah. III. p. 428.

173. Div. p. 61.

174. Foucher : L'art Gracco-Bouddhique du Gandhara II frag.224-7.

175. Fergusson : History of Indian & Eastern Art. P. LXII.

176. Smith : The Jain Stupa, p. 24. Pl. XVII. fig. 2.

177. p. 389.

178. ibid. p. 442.

179. Tawney Vol. I. p. 55.

180. JRAS. 1901. p. 461.

181. p. 278.3.

182. p. 405.

183. p. 427.

184. Journal Department of Letters. Vol. II. pp. 1 ff ;
See also A.L.Basham : The History of the Ajivikas.

185. Sadh. Pun. p. 276.5.

186. 186. p. 10.

187. ibid. p. 4.

188. Sumangala Vilasini I. 247.

189. ERE. VIII. p. 138.

190. Div. p. 633.17.

191. I. p. 2 ; Sadh.Pun. p. 276.

192. EI. XXI. pp. 6 ff.

193. JUPS. 1939. 29.

194. Harmata : Sino-Indica - Acta Antiqua, Vol. XII, No. 1-2, Budapest. 1964. p. 4.

195. Bagchi : India and Central Asia - Op.cit p. 32. Foucher, however, holds that Buddhism did not appear in Bactria until the end of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. (La Vielle route d'Inde de Bactres a Taxila, Vol. II, Paris. 1947. pp. 20-84).

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Litvinsky, however, considers Foucher's views to be erroneous. (Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia, Diushambe. 1968, pp 77 n. 15).

196. T. Watters 'on Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India'(Photo-print edition, New Delhi. 1973, Vol. I. p. 112 ; Vol.II, p. 131.

197. Harmata : Op.cit pp. 4-5.

198. S. Levi : 'Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs' - 'Revue de l' histoire de Religions', XXIII. 1891, pp. 436-439, reprinted in Memorial Sylvain Levi pp. 204 ff ; See also SBE. XXXV ; P. Denievite : 'Les Versions Chinoises de Milindapanho. BEFCO. XXIV. pp. 168 ff.

199. Puri : Buddhism in Central Asia - Op.cit. p. 94.

200. The traditional date for the introduction of Buddhism is A.D. 62, in the context of Emperor Ming-Ti's dream and the despatch of an embassy in A.D. 65 to the kingdom of the Ta-Yueh-Chi or India with instructions to bring back Buddhist scriptures and priests. On the return journey it was accompanied by a monk called Kasyapa Matanga, a native of Central Asia. (For an account of the Chinese mission. See BEFEO. 1910 ; also Eliot. Op.cit. Vol. III, pp. 244-45).

201. W.Geiger : Mahavamsa (Trans.) - Op.cit. pp. ix. x.

202. Bagchi : India and China - Op.cit p. 30.

203. Nanjio - Op.cit. II. 4. pp. 381-82. An-Shi Kao was a royal prince of the country of An-Si (Eastern Persia or Parthia). After the death of his father, this Parthian prince gave up his kingdom to his uncle and became a s'ramana - monk. He came to China in A.D. 148 and worked at translations till A.D. 170.

204. Nanjio. II. 9. p. 384.

205. Bagchi : India and Central Asia. p. 39.

206. Op.cit.

207. Litvinsky. Op.cit p. 10.

208. Nanjio. II. 18. p. 388 ; Puri. Op.cit p. 101 n. 42.

209. Nanjio. Op.cit. II. 21. p. 390. He is considered as an Indian sramana, the eldest son of the prime minister of the country of Khan-Ku or Kambu. He came to the capital of Wu in A.D. 241.

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210. A. Stein. Ancient Khotan. p. 37. Hsuen-tsang records the spiritual excellences of this scholar of the north, like Asvaghosha in the east, Deva in the south and Nagarjuna in the west. (Beal. Op.cit II. p. 302).

211. H.Luders. Bruckstucke der Kalpanamanditika des Kumaralata. Leipzig. 1926 ; Levi. J.A. CCXI. 1927. pp. 95 ff.

212. Bagchi. India and Central Asia. p. 46.

213. Beal. Op.cit. Vol. II. p. 307. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the writing is modelled on that of India while language and pronunciation are different from that of other countries.

214. Bagchi. Op.cit pp. 48 ff.

215. Stein. Ancient Khotan. p. 232.

216. According to the Annals of Li-Yul (Rockhill) Life of Buddha, pp. 238 ff, Vijayasimha, the third successor of Vijayavirya married princess Pu-nye-Shar, the daughter of the ruler of China. She was responsible for raising silk worms much against the wishes of her husband, who later on repented for his deeds. He called from India the Bhiksu Sanghaghosa and made him his spiritual adviser ; and to atone for his wickedness he built the Po-ta-rya and Ma-dza chaityas and a great vihara. (Stein: Ancient Khotan p. 230).

217. For an account of Mokshala, see Bagchi. Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine. Op.cit pp. 119-120 ; Nanjio. Catalogue - Op.cit. II. 26. p. 396. He was a sramana of Yu-then i.e. Kustana (Khotan) who together with Ku-Shu-lan, an upasaka of Indian descent born in India, translated on Sutra in A.D. 29. According to Cital, he was the author of a new alphabet for the transliteration of Sanskrit. (A Sanskrit - Chinese Dictionary. p. 100 B).

218. Bagchi- Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine. pp. 212-221.

219. Ancient Khotan. pp. 163-64.

220. ibid. pp. 483 ff.

221. ibid. p. 544.

222. Bagchi- Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine. pp. 79 ff ; Nanjio- Op.cit. ii. 16 p. 387. According to Sylvain Levi, the royal dynasty of Kucha from the first century A.D. was known as Po. (J.A. 1913 p. 322) and the rulers had the prefix added to their names, such as Po-Ying (124 A.D.); Po-Chang (285 A.D.) etc.

223. Po-Shi-li-mi-to-lo i.e. srimitra - literally meaning 'lucky friend' was a srama of western origin. He gave up his kingdom to his younger brother and became a sramana. He

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came to China in the Yun-Kia period - A.D. 307-12, under the western Tsin dynasty and died at the age of eighty. See Nanjio. Op.cit. ii. 36. pp. 397-98 for reference to his works.

224. For an account of Kumarajiva's life history and his contribution to Buddhist literature, see Nanjio : Catalogue. ii. 59. pp. 406-408 ; Bagchi- Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, pp. 178-200 ; See also Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII. p. 701 a ; Sylvain Levi- J.A. 1913 pp. 335-338; Pelliot- Toung-Pao. 1912. p. 392 in which he placed this savant between A.D. 344 and 413 ; See also P. Wieger. Histoire de Croyances religieuses en Chine etc. (1922) p. 416 in which is given a resume of the notice of Tsin Chou on Kumarajiva.

225. Bagchi- Op.cit pp. 200-204 ; Nanjio- Op.cit. ii. 61. p.408.

226. Bagchi- Le Canon. pp. 341-346; Nanjio.Op.cit.ii.42 pp. 399-402.

227. Bagchi- ibid. pp. 160-161 ; Nanjio- ibid. ii. 54 p. 404.

228. Bagchi. ibid. 161-162; Nanjio- ibid. ii. 39 p. 399.

229. Bagchi. ibid. pp. 176-177.

230. Bagchi. ibid. 370-375 ; Hastings- Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. VIII. 701-6.

231. S.Beal. Life of Hiuen-Tsang (London. 1911) p. 39.

232. Luders. List of Inscriptions. EI. X. Appendix No.

233. JRAS. 1904. p. 330.

234. Acta Orientalia. Hungary Tome XIX. 1966. pp. 1-32.

235. For the Saka and Sogdian data, Harmata refers to Bailey paper in BSOAS. X. 1942, pp. 909 and 914 & E. Benveniste. Vesantara Jataka (Paris 1916) pp. 58-59 ; and Texts Sogdiens (Paris 1940) p. 107.

236. Arthur Waley. A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-Huang (1931) p. 54 ; See also P. Banerji's paper 'Hindu deities in Central Asia' in India's contribution to world thought and culture (Vivekanand Memorial Volume. Madras. 1970 pp. 281-287.)

237. Numismatic Chronicle (N.C.) 1893, pp. 126-127 Pl. X Fig.2.

238. Le Chinonites - Hepthalites pp. 55-58 Fig. 65 and Pl. VII.

239. Bussagli- Central Asian Paintings Pl. also Banerji. Op.cit p. 282.

240. For a study of deities on Kushana coins, see Puri- India under the Kushanas, Appendix A. pp. 213 ff. The epithet 'deva' applied to Gondopheres on coins is significant,

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likely to mean Siva and mother god. Hsuan-tsang in his account also refers to a Siva temple outside the gate of the city of Pushkalavati, simply as a deva temple in the seventh century. An important Saiva image is the so-called Trimurti with Siva as the central Figure (c. 3rd cent.A.D.) from Akhun Dheri near Charsadda, now in the Peshawar Museum (Banerji. Op.cit p. 283).

241. Benjamin Rowland. Ancient Art from Afghanistan pp. 107-108.

242. Stein- Ancient Khotan. I. p. 279.

243. Dandan Uliq panel No. D8 - ibid. p. 261, Pl. LXII. It is now in the British Museum (Banerji- Op.cit. p. 52).

244. Andrews- Catalogue of Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia. Bal. 0200 p. 87.

245. History of Indian and Indonesian Art. London. 1927. p.150 n.

246. Andrews. Op.cit p. 14 ; see also Indo-Asian Culture, XVII. No. 4 pp. 14 ff.

247. Stein. Ancient Khotan. pp. 431, 442.

248. ibid. pp. 292 ff.

249. Basil Grey : Central Asian Paintings (Op.cit) pp. 1 ff.

250. Andrews. Op.cit pp. 35-36.

251. Bussagli. Central Asian Paintings (Op.cit) ; also Stein: Ancient Khotan. I. p. 494 ff.

252. See his Paper - 'The Rama story in Khotanese' (JAOS. LIX. pp. 460-8) also BOSOAS. 1949-50 pp. 121-39 ; 920-938.

253. Andre Maricq. JA. Tome CCXLVI (1958) pp. 345-440 ; Helmet Humbacli- Kanishka Papers. Op.cit pp. 121-122.

254. A.Stein. 'Zoroastrian deities on the Kushana coins'. IA. XVII. p. 91 ff. Puri- Op.cit p. 219.

255. 'Minor Bactrian Inscription'. Acta Antiqua. Hungary. 13 pp. 149-205.

256. Main is said to be of noble birth, and, like Zoraster, Buddha and Jesus, claimed to have been sent by God to fulfil what had been previously revealed. He preached a new religion which like Christianity embraced all races and conditions of men. His doctrines were derived from the cults of Babylonia and Iran and were influenced by Buddhism and Christianity. Ghirshman : Iran (Pelicans) p. 315.

257. Quoted by E.R. Bevar in his article on the subject in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII. p. 396. Col. 1 n.3.

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258. Stein : Serindia. p. 819.

259. See Chavannes and Pelliot - Un traite Manicheen retrouve en Chine. J.A. 1911. 1913 which is the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Manichaeism in Central Asia and China (Eliot. Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III. p. 216 n.3.)

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CHAPTER XII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Kushana period is equally notable for its contribution in the realm of art and architecture. The vast empire of the Kushanas comprising of peoples of different nationalities and faiths, generated artistic talents of foreign as well as Indian background. Two different artistic currents emerging from separate source traditions swept over the western and eastern parts of the Kushana empire. Exclusive in character, and refined in presentation the art productions of the two schools from Gandhara and Mathura had nothing in common except the subject matter of presentation, namely Buddha's life in stone, The stories connected with his life as the Sakyan prince, his conception, birth, marriage, renunciation, enlightenment, the first sermon at the deer park and his activities as an evangelist, finally ending in his parinirvana, are faithfully recorded in sculptures, carved out on a black schist stone in the area known as Gandhara. The sculptors did not stop here. They were equally interested in depicting Jataka stories recording Buddha's previous births , the Bodhisattva in the process of enlightenment, and numerous other divinities connected with Buddhism, particularly Brahma, Indra, Panchaka and Hariti. While Buddhism was the main, or rather the only theme for the sculptors in the north-western region, called Gandhara, the eastern wing of the empire with Mathura as the main centre after which the art was known, conformed to the then existing art traditions with such innovations as were the demand of the time. Here the sculptors, called sailarupakaras, placed their services at the disposal of all religions.

The Kushana rulers as patrons of art, broad-minded in outlook and catholic by nature as well encouraged the court

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artists to carve out of stone their statues as also those of their ancestors ; and some other dignitaries as well emulated their examples and got statues of their religious divinities produced. It is very likely that foreign artists displayed their talents in the north-west at the behest of their masters, while the urge from within was equally instrumental in putting their religious instincts into proper shape and form. This urge was the outcome of the adoption of new faith- Buddhism by these foreign artists. The carving out of the image of Buddha was the outcome of artistic quest at both the centres. The difference, however, lay in the pattern followed by the artists of their areas.

Gandhara Art :

The term Gandhara art[1] covers all the aretacts produced and recovered from an area which was known by ~~their~~ that name in early times. The particular material - black schist - is the speciality of its sculptures. Its beginning as also its end and the association of the Kushana rulers with it are matters worth considering afresh. For more than a century or more scholars, particularly the art historians, have expressed views of a conflicting nature[2] about this art, which is as well called Graeco-Buddhist or of late Romano-Buddhist. What was once considered by a band of scholars to be a decadent phase of this art in the Kushana period is presumed to be its efflorescent stage. In its origin the Gandhara art is considered to be an amalgam of Graeco-Roman Indian forms and idioms, that for a period from the second century to the fourth century A.D. gave way to a definitely classical style. This strongly Roman-Palmyrenes style was submerged in the last phase

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of this Graeco-Buddhist art in a completely Indian type of sculpture corresponding to the works of the Gupta period.[3] On the other hand, Gandhara art, because of its foreign icographic forms, is considered almost altogether as a local phase of Hellenistic not Roman art. The latter is supposed to be the cousin and not the parent of Gandhara art, descending from the art of the Greek period in Afghanistan and Punjab, and applied to themes of Indian origin. It is as well described from one point of view as an eastern expansion of Hellenistic civilization mixed with Indian elements, and from another as a western expansion of Indian culture in an occidental garb.

It is no doubt true that Hellenistic motifs are noticed in Gandhara art, as for example, Persepolitan capital and merlon crenellation and fantastic monsters like the sphinix and gryphon were assimilated in ancient Indian schools.[4] Other forms, such as the atlandis, garland-bearing erotes and semi-human creature like the centaur, triton and hippocamp were all parts of the Hellenist art introduced by the Romanised Eurasian artists in the service of the Kushana court. Objects of unquestioned foreign origin have been found at various places in the Gandhara region, including the statue of Harpocrates and Dionysius in Taxila, a bronze Herakles from Nigrai, now in the British Museum, and steatite plaques or cosmetic dishes with erotic scenes, popularly known as toilet trays in large numbers from Taxila. Syrian glace and Roman metal and stucco sculptures found at Begram - are supposed to point to close cultural and commercial relations between Gandhara and Rome.

According to Rowland,[5] once again, 'it is difficult to find in all collections of Gandhara sculpture fragments resembling Roman workmanship of all periods from the time of Flavians, Kanishka's

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contemporaries to the very last style of Roman sculpture of the fourth century, usually designated as late Antique'. The foreign influence on Gandhara art is no doubt an accepted fact. It is equally proposed that 'the greater the Greek influence, the older the object, and the most Indianised the latest Arrangements by localities, is, however, impossible, as there is no evidence of local variations in style. On the other hand, the general style over the entire region is fairly uniform. All the sculptures are Buddhist, and there is no trace of works of pure Gandhara school dedicated to either Jainism or Hinduism. The subject matter of Gandhara art is Buddhist, despite the garb in which it might have been portrayed. The Buddha figure dominates every conception.

The Buddha Image :

The origin of the Buddha image[6] in Gandhara art is the focal point for determining its beginning. The Gandhara artists ignored the symbolic representation of the Buddha in the different stages of life activities as was done in the Sunga period at Bharhut and Sanchi. Here the human form was accorded to him from the very beginning of the artistic activities of this school. In the absence of any accepted formulae, they had to fall back on an image of Greek tradition, primarily their own, which was fairly acceptable for purposes of veneration. The earliest image of Buddha in Gandhara is that on the reliquary of Kanishka discovered by Spooner at Shah-ji-ki-dheri near Peshawar.[7] Some scholars, however, accord this privilege to the Bimran reliquary.[8] The Buddha figure on Kanishka's casket shows him in the attitude of protection - abhaya-mudra, with his right hand uplifted in front of the chest. The head dress (ushnisha) and the moustache are prominently depicted. The two

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other figures with him are Brahma and Indra or Sakra. The casket is as well ornamented with reliefs of garland-bearing erotes. A sovereign supposed to be Kanishka stands between the two divinities, the Sun and the Moon. On the side of the lid is a zone of geese or hamsa. To the top of the cover are fastened free-standing statuettes of the Buddha flanked by Indra and Brahma.[9] A Greek Agisala (Agisilos architect or noble is associated with this object. The date of the reliquary associated with the year 1 (?) of the time of Kanishka is no doubt important for assessing the contribution of Kushana artists to Gandhara art either in its beginning or in the period of its decline. The Bimran reliquary on the other hand was found in the ruins of a stupa from this place in Jelalabad (Afghanistan) by Masson who as well recovered a few coins of Azes along with it. This is suggestive of the deposit of this reliquary not earlier than the time of Azes though it could have been much later as well.

The figure of Buddha is also depicted on the coins of Kanishka. Four such unique coins are noticed[10] so far. The gold ones shows on the obverse king Kanishka standing in front of an altar with the figure of the Buddha portrayed on the reverse. The Tathagata's figure is haloed and is clad in Sanghati[11] (Toga). The right hand is most likely in the posture of protection while the left one holds a fold of the drapery. To the left, the inscription in Greek Boddo establishes the identity of the figure. The other three coins associated with Buddha are of copper. One is similar in design to the gold coin with the figure of Kanishka and the standing Buddha.[12] The other two portray the Buddha seated in the posture of protection - abhayamudra.[13] Tarn presumes[14] in this context a regular sequence of the earliest Buddha statue from Maues, Kujula Kadphises and Kanishka. The depiction of the Lord - both

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in standing and in seated forms in the attitude of protection in Gandhara art, appears to have really begun under the Kushanas, despite a few stray attempts made earlier. The Greek artists portrayed the Buddha with the Apollo-like face, clad in the Toga with the cranial proliberance on his head. This was quite different from the one evolved in the contemporary Mathura art. There it is the shaven head of the monk dressed in dhoti, its folds falling over the left shoulder, as is noticed in the figure of Friar Bala at Sarnath. The attitude or mudra does not call for any difference. In Gandhara Buddha appears just a beautiful person with a shaven face. The Greek Apollo type Buddha clad in drapery suggestive of Imperial draped statues of the first century A.D. in Rome, and the top knot or Krobylos of the Greek Sun god point to a synthesis in the Graeco-Roman iconographic disciplines in portraying the figure of Buddha in Gandhara art. In the portrayal of the Sakyamuni in the characteristic yogic posture,[15] these artists had no prototype before them. They had to depend on the actual observation of Indian ascetics.

It appears that the Gandhara artists carved out statues of Buddha according to their concepts, providing him a beautiful appearance. This is no doubt wanting in the case of the Buddha of the reliquary from Shah-ji-ki-dheri.[16] They, however, led some scholars to presume that Gandhara art had declined in the time of Kanishka. It must not, however, be forgotten that the artist here was not working on the blue schist or any other stone, but on a metal or amalm of metals. The task of the tamrakuttaka or a bronze-artist was different from that of a sailarupakara or sculptor. The two worked under different disciplines. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the artistic merit of productions in different materials

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with the same standard. The sculptors working on stone on a mass scale were expected to produce finer specimens. They were more proficient in their art than those engaged on a limited scale with not much of practice.

Bodhisattvas :

The Gandhara artists were equally interested in carving out images of the Bodhisattvas - the Buddha in the making. Unlike the one in the Mathura school, that of Gandhara, is shown in Royal attire with elaborate head dress and ornaments. The style of the Bodhisattvas image in Gandhara is presumed[17] to be a mixture of techniques, the stiff swallow tail foldsof the dhoti are taken as an adaptation of the neo-Attic style that flourished in Rome under Hadrian. The face carving varies from imitation of Roman models. According to Marshall,[18] the earliest image of the Bodhisattva is a figure 18' high, wearing a dhoti, shawl and bracelets with the left hand resting on the hip, and the right one raised in front of the breast with the fingers in the chin-mudra or jnana-mudra, denoting meditation, knowledge and purity. Marshall took the image to be the portrayl of the Bodhisattva after his enlightenment. The head and feet of the figure are missing.

Siddhartha, the Sakyan prince, figures prominently in Gandhara art. Several such images have been found. Some might be that of Maitreya[19] in the absence of the broken part. The water flask, wherever present, confirms the identification of this Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva Siddhartha is shown as both standing[20] as well as in meditation,[21] and also in the company of worshippers.[22] The dress is of course the same. The rippling folds are notable in the majority of Bodhisattva images dressed in dhoti below on the

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on the left, while to the right is a typical mixture of zig zag and angular form.[23] The head dress is sometimes very artistic,[24] and a good example of the meeting of eastern and western influences. The Greek influence is apparent in the modelling of the head, and the Indian spirit manifests itself in the sumptuous head dress. Strings of pearls continuing over the top of the head connect the outer diaden to the beaded band at the base of the ushnisha.[25] The Bodhisattva Siddhartha in meditation[26] from the Peshawar Museum is a beautiful illustration of the Sakyan prince striving for the salvation of the humanity through meditation. It contains at the base scenes connected with his life. The head dress is more ornate, consisting of a diadem, strings of pearls, a large round medallion with a tapering tenon.[27] So also is the interesting Bodhisattva Siddhartha figure from the Lahore Museum.[28] A foreign donor dressed in a sleeved cafforn and long trousers holding a bowl in his right hand to the right of the Bodhisattva figure is supposed to make some offering or donation.

The Gandhara art prominently displays Bodhisattva Maitreya, the future Buddha. Several statues of this divinity - standing and sitting in meditation, in attitudes of protection and contemplation have been found. He is conspicuous by his water flask, a distinguishing feature in both standing and sitting postures.[29] The Maitreya from Takht-i-Bahai, now in the Lahore Museum is profusely bejewelled. This figure in Moustache with his jewelled ushnisha and with a central tapering extension is dressed in dhoti with thin, rounded or angular ridges. The scarf or shawl is thrown in ridges over the left shoulder covering the upper part of the hand which holds the water flask. Besides two necklaces and an anulet carrier, there is a new piece of jewellery on the chest, and a

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jewelled chain passes from the left shoulder across the right upper arm. The Maitreya in Meditation from Lahore[30] has the water flask hanging from the index and third fingers of his left hand. The folds of the dhoti are indicated by paired parallel lines. A worshipper kneels at the front of the base, and another to the left with an object of worship, probably the fire altar in the middle. A similar scene is represented on the base of the statue of this Bodhisattva from Sahri-Bahlol[31] and elsewhere[32] and on that of a seated Buddha statue.[33] Maitreya is also portrayed in the reassuring pose,[34] surrounded by worshippers in different dresses suggesting their nationalities.[35] The preaching Maitreya in dharma-chakra pravartana-mudra[36] also figures in Gandhara art. His water flask is placed in the centre of the base to fit in this posture. In one sculpture from the Peshawar Museum he is shown seated with his left foot resting firmly on the ground while the right one is drawn up.[37] An interesting part of this sculpture is the peculiar dress of the female worshippers flanking him in their trailing robes.[38]

A few figures of Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Padumapani are also depicted in Gandhara art. The crest of the head dress of the former contains the seated image of Buddha in meditation.[39] He carries the lotus flower in his hand.[40] The Bodhisattva figures in Gandhara art are depicted with the exuberance of youth and nobility, possessed of character and with a strong feeling of doing good to the world rather than striving for personal salvation alone.

Buddha's Life and Jataka Stories :

Buddha's life activities as also stories relating to his previous births, recorded in the Jataka as well form the theme of artistic presentations in stone. Events connected with the life

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of the Tathagata, from conception to renunciation, ascetic penances, reducing his body to a mere skeleton, the attack by Mara, the god of evil, his enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, the first sermon at the Deer Park in Sarnath, his missionary career, his parinirvana with Anand by his side along with a band of disciples and finally his cremation are the most important scenes depicted in Gandhara art. Many other scenes, such as the Sakyan prince at school, his marriage preceded by wrestling scene to display his valour, life in the palace, the post renunciation scenes with the return of Chandaka and Kanthaka, the miracle at Sravasti and the post cremation scene, particularly the division of the ashes and relics etc. are all covered in Gandhara art. These are so beautifully portrayed that one can follow Buddha's life in stone in full sequence. It might be of interest to record a few such scenes as might enable us to highlight the aesthetic taste of the artists and the display of their talents in portraying even minute details connected with the life activities of the Lord.

The great renunciation scene has to be viewed against the background of the life in the palace. The prince reclines on a couch,[41] fanned and entertained by female attendants in an aura of nobility with the play of music and display of dance. His wife is seated on the edge of the couch. In the fateful scene of renunciation, depicted on the lower panel, Yasodhara is fast sleep on the couch. The two female attendants are also over-powered into sleep. Siddhartha, the young prince, steps down from his couch while to his left his groom Chandaka holds Kanthaka, the royal stead. In another scene[42] the prince rides the horse with the groom holding the royal umbrella. To the left

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is Vajrapani with the face like that of a bearded Herades.

The emaciated Buddha scene from Sikri[43] in which physical austerities have reduced his body to a living skeleton, is one of the best pieces of Gandhara art. The artist might not have fully conformed to the anatomical details but his success in depicting the real emaciated prince can hardly be questioned. The ribs and ~~viens~~ veins in the body are clearly brought out. The belly is reduced to a deep cavity, but the serenity on the face is suggestive of his strong determination. Similarly the death scene of the Buddha depicted in several panels faithfully reveals the emotional side in that atmosphere of gloom. The one in the Peshawar Museum[44] from Mardan shows him lying on a couch with a decorated blanket covering the mattress. The bearded Vajrapani stands at the left, while Anand has buried his face in his hands. The other figure, monks and princes, are in intense grief. The scene is noted for its realism and brings out the real grief at the parinirvana of the Tathagata.

Among the Jataka stories connected with the previous births of the Lord, two deserve special notice, namely the Dipankara[45] and Sibi-Jataka[46] scenes, and the offering of the handful dust scene. In the first scene, Sumati is shown prostrating himself before the Dipankara Buddha, letting his long hair down, spreading it over the mud to enable the Lord to cross over without soiling his feet. As prince Visvantara, he realises on earth the perfection of charity. Pouring water on the Brahmin's hand, the prince accords sanctity to the gift and leaves his paternal kingdom.[47] The offering of a handful of dust by two small boys playing on the street is an evidence of childish act of piety, well depicted in this sculpture.[48]

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Other Divinities :

The Gandhara artists also carved out statues of other divinities connected with Buddhism. The famous statue of Panchuka Kubera[49] is the most striking piece showing the moustached personage seated in European fashion on a throne[50] with his left foot on a foot stool, and his left hand grasping a spear. The jewelled turban, ear ornaments and bracelets signify his richness. Two standing children to his left are supposed to indicate the fertility aspect in his character. His consort Hariti figures independently with her children hugging on to her as well as to Panchaka. The famous statue of this converted ogress from Sikri[51] is dressed in a sari covering her body of which the folds are shown by an alternation of accentuated ridges. The two to-gether from Peshawar are portrayed seated in the same way. Panchaka's moustache is different here and so also his head dress. His hands are broken and the chest chain is missing. Hariti shows no change except in the head dress. Five children press for her attention, including the infant sucking her breast.

Brahma and Indra (Sakra) are the only two Brahmanical divinities figuring in Gandhara art, of course, never independently. The Gandhara artists as well depicted a few secular scenes. The Bacchanalian scenes might be traced to foreign influence. Marshall proposed[52] that the drinking scene was much too popular to be easily suppressed. These occured time and again in later reliefs of the Gandhara school. A good many illustrations of such scenes were of a purely Hellenistic character.[53] The drinking party in sculptures generally consists of nine figures - four male and five female. The former are dressed in short chiton or a simple himation, leaving the upper part of the body bare. The women are dressed in long

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chiton and himation.

Besides the purely Indian themes - divinities and scenes from the Jatakas, the Gandhara artists also carved out figures of Greek and other foreign divinities. It is however difficult to date these images stylistically or on other grounds. Since a number of deities from different pantheons are portrayed on the Kushana coins, it might be reasonably assumed that the artists might have carved out such images at the instance of Kushana rulers or noble donors. These foreign goddesses include Athena-Roma,[54] Harpocrates,[55] the Centaures,[56] the Silenus,[57] Farro and Ardoksho[58] who are supposed to be the Kushana interprelations of Panchika and Hariti, Demeter,[59] Hariti,[60] the Atlantes,[61] the marine deities[62] and the Amohini Yakshas[63] who are supposed to suggest growing Indianisation. Nagas,[64] Garuda, the mythical bird,[65] Yakshas and Yakshis,[66] Kinnaras and Gandharvas[67] also figure in Gandhara art within the indeterminable time chart of this school.

Architecture :

The Gandhara architecture is characterised by the use of different orders, floral designs and animal motifs in decoration in stupas and viharas. The Chaitya-window arch, and the railings are of a different model taken from the west. The plan of the sites, stories, capitals and pillars are the only things left of the once munificent structures set up in that region. The once famous stupa in Gandhara, in the shape of the tower raised by Kanishka near Peshawar to a height of 700' in thirteen stories, according to Hsuan-tsang, was the greatest architectural achievement of this period. The miniature stupa of tower like proportions from Taxila might give an idea of the original stupa of Kanishka.[68]

The corinthian capital, pilasters and capitals are modified

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in Gandhara art. The introduction of the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattvas into the foliage is a new feature suggesting Indianisation of the Greek order. The acanthus leaves are also noticed in architectural designs. The corinthian order no doubt dominates in Gandhara architecture with the absence of Doric and Ionic ones. In this context, Marshall made an attempt[69] to frame a chronology of Gandhara architecture on the basis of the types of masonry in buildings at Taxila - rubbles being used before the period of the Kushanas, diaper under the Kushan and ashlar alternatively with layer of rubble in the latest type.

The Gandhara art continues to be controversial, particularly in respect of its dating and development. Indian iconographical details no doubt dominate but foreign elements are equally conspicuous. In fact, the Hellenistic Roman elements are supposed to form the basis for the artist's ingenuity and designs. The extent of foreign influence is noticed in the Apollo-faced figure of the Buddha, in the dress - chitan and himation, in the corinthian orders and floral decorations, and also in foreign divinities figuring in this art. These might have been the earlier contributions of the Gandhara artists, but the time factor was equally important in this context. The ultimate Indianisation was the test of the age. It is probable that the Gandhara artists helped their counterparts at Mathura in providing ideas and designs, and they too might have been inspired in return. This could have happened under the Kushanas whose empire included both these areas of artistic activities. The rulers as well patronised these artists, and some kind of mutual understanding is not ruled out. It is a pity that there was no synthesis of contemporary artistic traditions. At best the halo and folds of drapery at Mathura might have been borrowed from

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Gandhara. It is equally likely that Buddhist iconography though a major factor in Gandhara art, accepted certain iconographic concepts from the west - from Greece or Rome, or both.

Further, attempts have been made to classify and date Gandhara sculpture on stylistic grounds. Harold Inghold has thus classified[70] these four groups. Group I is said to have lasted from A.D. 144-240, from the accession of Kanishka to the conquest of Shapur I. Group II is of shorter duration from 240-300. Group III spans an entire century 300-400, and Group IV includes the last sixty years of the region's independence. During the first period, the art is marked by Hellenistic influence from Parthian Mesopotamia. In Group II Sassanian influence came to the fore, and in Group III, a new wave of influence enters the region from Mathura. The last group finally sees Sassanian influence reappear. It may, however, be suggested that neither stylistic considerations, nor the dated Buddha images from Loriyan Tangai or Hastanagar or that of Hariti could in any way be helpful in fixing up the chronological framework of Gandhara. It no doubt seems certain that Kanishka's association with the Gandhara art has to be traced to its efflorescent stage than to its beginning, or the end of it. Such artistic activities on a grand scale could only be possible in an era of peace and prosperity in a fairly big empire under the tolerant Kushana rulers whose subjects were of different nationalities. The rulers' attempt to portray divinities from different pantheons on their coins was in conformity with the artists hailing from different regions of the Kushana empire, working under the patronage of these benign rulers. They no doubt followed their art norms and traditions. Buddha and Buddhism of course dominate Gandhara art and western influence equally figures prominently in it. Whether it was the

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eastern influence of the western art, or the western expansion of the Eastern art, the core of the contribution nevertheless was Indian.

Mathura Art :-

Mathura under the Kushanas was equally the most prolific centre of art production. A carefully devised policy emanating from the Kushana emperors was responsible for abundant output. Different indigenous currents of religious traditions were amalgated by the sculptors. Thus, the worship of Kubera with the attendant Yakshas and Yakshis, Vrikshas and Pushpabhanjikas as also the worship of the Buddha-Bodhisattva were all integrated into one artistic tradition of the region. The sculptors were, however, secular in their approach. They carved out beautiful figures of Buddha-Bodhisattvas, the Brahmanical divinities like Vishnu, Surya and Siva, and of Jain Tirthankaras, Kubera, Yakshas and Nagas with their female counterparts. For the first time in this period the Buddha figure was carved out on red stone, not with Apollo-like face, wavy locks and ample folded robe as in Gandhara art but as a shaven monk in his Sanghati offering protection to the world with his monumental, yet dignified personality. The art retained its non-sectarian character and was not meant to cater primarily to the Buddhist patrons. It served the ends of all the three religious cults - Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism. Siva, Vishnu, Surya, Durga, Sapta-matrikas and hosts of other Brahmanical divinities engaged as much attention of the artists, as they would have done for carving out statues of Buddha - Bodhisattvas in bold design and high relief or of the Jain Tirthankaras.

The sculptors from Mathura, called Sailarupakaras as well carved out statues of Buddha-Bodhisattva for the patrons from

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Sarnath, Sravasti and other places. The statues found in these centres were either imported from Mathura or were locally produced by the artists invited from Mathura on red sand stone. It was earlier suggested by Cunningham [70] that there was a small body of Bactrian artists who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathura. This view was rejected by Growse. The latter presumed that Mathura represented a school of art based on indigenous traditions. The export of artists from Mathura could only be possible if the centre itself was of standing with a tradition of its own. It had little in common with Gandhara. The subject matter in Mathura art is essentially Indian and Mathura art under the Kushanas appears to be a direct continuation of the old art of Bharhut and Sanchi. Some traces of foreign influence, like the Silenius, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Gandhara queen in blue schist might be solitary instances suggesting contact with Gandhara.

The Indian character is more pronounced in carved railings with the female figures standing by trees, or on balconies, and often on dwarf in prostrate. The decorative medallions with rosettes fantastic animals and sacred symbols could be traced in earlier Indian monuments. The coping stones of the railings decorated with borders of conventional floral designs, sometimes interpersed with animals and occasionally surmounted by a narrow band of bells, are similar to those found on the coping stones of the Bharhut railings. The cross bars bearing rosettes, the toranas on <u>ayaga-patas</u>, do not differ from those of Bharhut. It is, thus, clear that the Kushana art in Mathura did not alienate itself from the earliest traditions of Indian art, while the sculptors were busy in devising the figure of Buddha in harmony with the Indian ideal of a monk.

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The Royal Portraits :

The portrait of the Kushana ruler Kanishka and Vamataksha, and nobles found at the ancient site of Mat in 1911 by Radha Krishna and the reference to devakulas or 'god houses' in Mat inscriptions, suggest that there was a portrait, gallery of kings and nobles associated with those of divinities at that place. The statue of Kanishka[72] recovered from Tokri Tila in the village of Mat, about 9 miles north of Mathura, is the best specimen of the portrait art patronised by the Kushana emperors. The king stands with his right hand resting on a mace and the left clasping the hilt of the sword. He is clad in a tunic reaching down to the knees, and held round the loins by means of a girdle of which only two square plagues are visible in front. The folds of the robes are indicated by highly engraved lines. Heavy boots with straps round the ankles are most prominent. The sword's long hilt is decorated on the top with the swan's head. The sheath with the broken point is decorated with three plaques. The long mace (3'. 5") is strengthened with five bands clearly shown in the sculpture. It might have symbolised the royal sceptre. Smartness and perfect symmetry with a realistic pose are the main characteristics of this free - standing figure. The Brahmi inscription leaves no doubt about the identity of this ruler, king Kanishka.

The other statue of the Kushana ruler mentioned in the record as Kushanaputra Vamatakshama[73] shows the king seated on a throne (sinhasana) with the lion figure in the front. His right hand is raised in front of the breast holding a sword of which only portions of the hilt are traceable, and the left hand rests on the scaboard laid across the knees. The enthroned monarch is dressed in a long sleeved tunic with a richly embroidered border shown

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running down the breast. The tunic is covered with little rosettes. The figure wears a torque and thin bracelets round the waist. The top boots are decorated with a band of vine patterns, a strap round each boot beneath the ankles, and a second one under the heels.

Besides these two statues of Kushana rulers, the pedestal of a standing figure,[74] with only the feet wearing padded boots, fastened with straps, is suggestive of another portrait. The inscription engraved between the feet refers to an officer or feudal lord (mahadandanayaka). His figure was carved in stone, represented by this pedestal. Still another figure[75] from Mat with the head and feet lost is dressed in a close-fitting coat and trousers. Over the coat is an ornamental girdle with a central pendant. Detached heads[76] from Mat include one of buff-stone. Another head wearing a high conical hat,[77] similar to other Kushana heads,[78] was found at Palikhera. The Royal statues and detached heads of the nobles were carved out of red sand stone and suggest that the Royalty and the elite encouraged sculptors. Similar statues of nobles and of Kushana monarchs were also found at Surkh-Kotal in Afghanistan at the other end of the Kushana empire. Schlumberger and Kieffer[79] have drawn attention to certain common features in these statues of different types of stones. Thus, the statue of Kanishka from Mat is similar to one (No.2) from the other region standing in the same posture with feet turned out as on the coinage of this ruler. The other statue from Mat of the ruler seated on a stone allows comparison with the one at Surkh-Kotal.[80] There are certain differences also, as for example, in the rough bracket view of the Mat Kanishka without any waist and in variation in the degree of frontality.

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Buddha-Bodhisattvas :

The Kushana artists at Mathura as well made the attempt to carve out the figure of the Buddha who was earlier represented through symbols in the Sunga art. Here at Mathura the artists made no formal distinction between the Buddha and Bodhisattva statues as was done by their counter parts in Gandhara art. Both have the shaven-headed monk appearance without curls, without urna and moustache. Even the ushnisha, if present in any statue, is spiral. The figure is either in high relief or in the round, in the attitude of offering protection (abhayamudra), signified by raising the right hand both in the standing as well as in the sitting postures. The left hand in the standing pose is often clenched, symbolising stability. It also supports the folds of the robe leaving the right shoulder bare. The drapery is of course arranged in schematic folds. In the sitting posture the seat is always a lion's throne and not the lotus, as one notices in Gandhara art. Sometimes the seated lion is placed between the feet of the standing figure. The figures show enormous energy rather than serenity. The nimbus is plain or scalloped at the edge in low reliefs. The Buddha-Bodhisattva figures are more akin to the Yaksha figures of the pre-Kushana Mathura art, noted for their massiveness, boldness and masculine character.[81] In this context Vogel suggests that the type cannot be derived from any known class of images in Gandhara. It is a product of the native school and related to the indigenous tradition. The image of the Buddha created at Mathura was independent of the attempt made at the other end, and it was done to meet the wishes and requirements of the votaries of Tathagata. The artists in Mathura were not experimenting with the data supplied from Gandhara.[82] They carved out the figure of the Buddha

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on the model of Yaksha statues with suitable amends.

Coomaraswamy listed[83] the more important examples of the Buddha-Bodhisattva and Jina images, both in standing and seated poses. The seated ones include the Bodhisattva from the Katra mound with an inscription,[84] the Buddha from Angoi,[85] headless with similar inscription, the one in the Boston Museum without inscription, and Buddhas in relief in small size[86] in the Mathura Museum. Reference might as well be made to the standing Buddha relief[87] from the same Museum, the life-size standing Bodhisattva, and the headless figure from the Ganesa mound, now in the Lucknow Museum,[88] similar to the colossal standing Bodhisattva figure from Sarnath and Sravasti dedicated by Friar Bala,[89] and a headless Bodhisattva figure now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[90] Bodhisattva statues of the Mathura school were also recovered from Pataliputra and Sanchi.[91][92] To this list might be added the Buddha figure from the latter place[93] and fragment of a Kushana Buddha pedestal from Rajgir.[94] Another Bodhisattva statue from Maholi (Mathura) was noticed by V.S.Agarwal.[95] This statue of spotted red sand stone and carved in the round is almost a replica of the Sarnath Bodhisattva statue with the same features - the shaven head of a monk, Sanghati leaving the right shoulder bare, clenched left fist at the waist and twice wound knotted girdle. A sejant lion between the feet of Sarnath Bodhisattva is replaced by lotus clusters. Although this image is undated, but an inscribed piece discovered sticking to its pedestal, dated in the year 92, suggests that the same Bodhisattva form continued till the end of Kanishka's family. Further, the standing Bodhisattva image from Lakhnau (Aligarh), now in the Mathura Museum,[96] dated in the year 35 of Huvishka, belonging an stylistic ground to the same group is suggestive of

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the continuance of this pattern of Buddha-Bodhisattva figures, rather uninterruptedly through out the period of Kanishka and his family's rule.

Some other types of Bodhisattva figures are also noticed in the Kushana art of Mathura. These might be of a later period. One such Bodhisattva[97] wears elaborate head dress and ornaments and is shown seated cross-legged in dhyanamudra. To the right of the Bodhisattva are six male worshippers and to his left five female ones. The male figures wear long tunics of the typical Kushana type held in with a belt above the hips. The females wear saris and bodices. The Bodhisattva figure from Mathura[98] seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation, with his head and right arm missing, wears a scarf thrown over the left shoulder and arm, and a dhoti, the ends of which are spread in front of the pedestal. The breasts and arms are decorated with profuse ornaments - the head necklace fitted with buckle and the string of the amulet-holders under the right arm. There are bracelets in the upper arm and bangles in the lower one. Another Bodhisattva statue from Mathura,[99] probably of Maitreya, judging from the albastron or ointment vessel in his left hand is equally notable. The hair is arranged in schematically treated curls. The figure is dressed a long robe leaving the right breast and shoulder bare, with an upper garment hanging down from the left shoulder. The Bodhisattva figure wears ear pendants, a flat torgue and necklace, and two bracelets round the left arm. It is similar to another figure of Maitreya.[100] The two images belong to the Kushana period.

The Mathura Bodhisattva similar to the one set up by Friar Bala at Sarnath and Sravasti makes it clear that there

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was apparently no deviation from the set formulae evolved by the early Kus hana sculptors at Mathura. Here the Bodhisattva need be taken to be Sakyan prince after renunciation and before enlightenment.

Van Lohinzen-de-Leeuw suggests[101] several stages in the development of Buddhist art in Mathura on the basis of stylistic development of the image of Buddha-Bodhisattva from a symmetrically garment to fan-like draperies, from covered legs and feet to uncovered ones, and from the indication of the hair by the technique of semi-circular lines to that of snail-shell curls. It is, however, clear that apparently there is not much change in stylistic patterns in the carving of the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures. Two sitting Buddha figures with the shoulders covered with the spiral head dress from Sitalaghat and Sahet-Mahet respectively[102] are supposed to come in the North-west Indian scheme. Van-Lohinzen further suggests that the peculiarity of the two Buddhas point to the nationalising process which was taking place in the Buddha image influenced by Gandhara.[103] The cast of the drapery at the first glance is an inaccurate copy of a north-western model. Sometimes the artist lapses into the indigenous art by indicating the drapery through a slight excavation of the stone. In both these statues, the regular corpulent form, common in the north-west, has been substituted for the Indian ideal of beauty. This fact is easily explained by Coomarswamy that in certain directions a Hellenistic element, plastic and iconographic was absorbed into Indian art. The Mathura sculptors, taken as a whole, have a very small fraction of Hellenistic influence. It may be suggested that in the orthodox model of the Buddha-Bodhisattva figure, there was no

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change , though the artists might have made certain experiments here and there in drapery and ornamentation. The covering of both the shoulders with folds of drapery and the use of ornaments in a few Bodhisattva figures, and the spiral locks might have been some form of artistic experiments.[104] Vogel, however, suggests that in the seated images atleast the Mathura sculptors of the early Kushana period made no distinction between Gautama the Bodhisattva and Gautama the Buddha.

Buddha's Life in Stone :

Scenes from Buddha's life are depicted in bas-reliefs - birth,[105] renunciation, enlightenment,[106] descent from heaven,[107] first sermon in the deer park[108] and his parinirvana.[109] Buddha is shown in human form in all these scenes replacing the symbols used in earlier sculptures. In the birth scene in the Lumbini garden his mother is shown standing in the usual attitude, clasping the branch of the Sala tree with her right hand and is supported by her sister. Indra receives the baby on a cloth. The infant Buddha (Bodhisattva) stands in the centre with two Naga kings in the attitude of adoration. The great renunciation (Mahabhinishkramana)[110] scene shows the prince leaving his sleeping wife. In the scene of enlightenment, Buddha is seated under the Bodhi tree in the touch the earth posture (bhumisparsamudra). In the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, Buddha along with Sakra (Indra) and Brahma descends by the triple ladder. He turns the wheel of Law in his sermon in the deer park scene. The end is depicted with three mourning figures standing behind the couch on which Buddha lies under the Sala tree. Vogel notices[111] the influence of Gandhara in the dwarf pilaster with Indo-Corinthian capital, the former commonly found to divide different scenes.

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In one bas-relief,[112] the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indrasila cave is shown. The story of Romaka Jataka is supposed to be depicted on a bas-relief.[113]

Jain Statues :

Statues of Jain Tirthankaras some with dated inscriptions on their pedestal have also been found at Mathura. The dated Jain images extend from the year - to 84, thus posing the question of uniformity in these images or disparity in different stages. The dated images are seated in Padmasana posture. The heads are generally missing. The one of Parsvanatha, now in the Lucknow Museum,[114] is well preserved, canopied by the hood of the Nagas. Jinas in relief on several ayagapatas - or tablets of homage from Kankali Tila, now in the Lucknow Museum, or in the Mathura one are represented in the same posture. The dated broken images from Mathura include one of the Jain Tirthankaras - Adinatha or Rishabhanatha.[115] He is seated cross-legged in meditation. The head and arms are missing while the halo with the scalloped border is partly preserved. The Srivasta symbol is prominent on the chest, while the wheel symbol (chakra) figures on the palms of the hand and soles of the feet. An image of Vardhamana dated in the year 35 from Kankali Tila, now in the Mathura Museum,[116] is equally important.[117] In this context Van Lohinzen-de-Leeuw considered seven dated Jain images - the head and nimbus of six ones missing, all in dhyanamudra with the tips of the thumbs touching each other. The few standing Jina images of this period are equally worth recording. The one from the Lucknow Museum dedicated by Kumara-Mitra[118] and dated in the year 15, shows on each of the four sides a standing naked Jina figure in a stiff frontal attitude, and the arms stretched along the body. Such images are called Pratima-

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Sarvatobhadrika. Another statue of this type[119] was dedicated by Sthira in the year 22. All the figures have spiral locks.

The central figure of the Jain Tirthankara Neminatha[120] is flanked in the right by a figure - armed figure of a Nagaraja with seven hoods. The figure to the left is that of the four-armed Vishnu. The three figures stand under a canopy. A relief found by Fuhrer at Kankali Tila, now in the Lucknow Museum, depicts Varahamana, the last Tirthankara, holding devotional conversation with a king.[121] Van Lohinzen-de-Leeuw, however, questions the Jainistic character of this piece. Its location at the site of the Jain stupa, however, confirms Fuhrer's identification. The Tirthankara is dressed in dhoti and is portrayed in the attitude of protection. The Srivatsa symbol is, however, missing.

The tablets of homage (ayagapatas) with the stupa or the figure of the Jain Tirthankara in the centre were also carved out by the sculptors of this period. The famous sculpture[122] chiselled with a complete stupa surrounded by a railing and approached by means of a flight of steps has also an ornamental gateway with the usual three architraves and the worshipping figures. It was dedicated by the courtesan Lonasobhika in honour of the Arhat Vardhamana.[123]

It appears from the numerous finds of Jina statues and tablets of homage that the Jain donors equally patronised the native artists. The statues - seated or standing - are portrayed nude in the usual dhyanamudra or the hands falling down as Sarvatobhadra-pratima,[124] carved on all the four sides. The usual Srivatsa symbol on the chest, and the chakra on the palm and feet are characteristics of the Jain statues. The pedestal of these statues have devotional scenes which occur on the Buddhist images

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as well. The one bearing the inscription of the time of Vasudeva shows between the two lions, a bas relief representing a wheel of law and a number of worshippers arranged in two groups at both sides of it. These might be the real donors.

Mathura was an important centre of the Jains, and several Jain stupas might have been set up there. There does not appear to be any foreign influence from Gandhara since neither the folds of drapery nor ornaments figure in Jain statues. These are more natural and the artist is interested in shaping the geometrical pattern of the statue rather than its ornamentation. Ayagapatas or ornamental slabs bearing the representation of Jina or other object of worship were put up in temples for the worship of the Arhats, While the existence of such temples and monastic establishments are recorded in inscriptions, systematic destruction of ancient sites have washed away any trace of these architectural pieces of the Kushana period.

Brahmanical Statues :

The depiction of Brahmanical images in the Kushana art at Mathura could be considered in the context of Hindu divinities depicted on Kushana coins. In the absence of dated Brahmanical images, their classification could only be on stylistic grounds. The portrait of Siva along with his Nandi is uniformly depicted on the coins of Vima Kadphises and the succeeding Kushana rulers. The deity is polycephalous[125] but on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka the two-armed figures are depicted with a variety of attributes,[126] such as elephants gourd, water vessel and the trident in the upper left hand. Sometimes the noose is held in lower right hand, and the lower left rests on the hip, or is hanging down. The

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god also appears three-headed, clad in waist band, ithyphallic, with four arms holding goad, wheel trident, and thunder bolt.[127] Siva is also depicted with his consort on some coins - Nana identified with Amba or Uma[128] read here OMMO.[129]

In Mathura art Siva is portrayed with Parvati, in the human couple form, Siva lingam with the figure of Siva four-armed, and Ardhanarisvara.[130] A fragment consists of the left leg of a seated male image of natural size wearing a loin cloth and ring round his ankle. On his thigh a female figure is seated of which only the lower-half remains. It probably represents Siva holding Parvati. It is said to originate from Kankali Tila and very probably belonged to the Kushana period.[131] The famous Siva linga, bearing an inscription,[132] about 2 feet in height is a plain phallic one, and was dedicated by some person whose name is mutilated.[133] Another statue of which the date is uncertain depicts, besides Siva and Parvati, Ganesa and the war-lord Skanda to the right and left respectively. Skanda along with Kumara, Visakha and Mahasena also figure on the coins of Huvishka.[134]

Vishnu, though not figuring on Kushana coins,[135] does appear in art at Mathura in different postures - standing in the attitude of protection,[136] or seated in Padmasana in contemplation.[137] The eight-armed Vishnu statue[138] has also been found in Mathura.[139] So also the statues of his consort, Lakshmi on lotus, Gaja-Lakshmi,[140] with Kubera,[141] Vasundara,[142] Katyayani, Mahishasuramardini and the Saptamatrikas[143] are also depicted in Mathura art.[144] The other Brahmanical deities whose portraits have been found include Brahma, Agni with Ayuddhapurusha,[145] Balarama wearing vanmala with chakra in abhayamudra,[146] Svamikartikeya,[147] Ganesa[148] and Kamadeva.[149] Kubera, as usual, figures more prominently enjoying his asava drink.

Brahmanism and Brahmanical divinities are fairly conspicuous

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in Mathura art, both in Vedic as well as in Pauranic phases. The famous Yupa bearing the inscription of Vasishka[150] confirms Brahmanis-m in its Vedic form. Siva and Vishnu along with their consorts equally engaged the attention of Mathura artists and these provided models for the Gupta period artists. The sculptors also carved out colossal statues of Nagas and Nagis on the pattern of the earlier Yaksha and Yakshi statues. The seated sun images are equally interesting. The earlier figure of the deity from the Sapta-samudri[151] well shows him squatting in a car drawn by four horses, holding s-ome object in each hand. He has long locks and wears a torque round his neck. He is dressed in a cuirass and boots and holds a kind of club or mace, and a staff or sword. The dress and attributes could be compared with the figure of the Kushana king in tunic and boots seated on a throne. Standing images of Sun of the same type and period have also been found in Mathura.[152]

Nagas and Nagis Statues :

These two types of local deities continued to enjoy the patronage and devotion of the people in this period. This is evident from their statues found in Mathura. The pot bellied massive Yaksha figures, known there from earlier times, were as well adapted for carving Naga statues.[153] The Cherargaon Naga statue is probably the best specimen and bears an inscription of the time of Huvishka, dated in the year 40. The image is clad in a dhoti and a scarf tied round the loins. A necklace can be traced on the breast. The coils of the snake are indicated on the back of the stone. These local genii supposed to be the lords of lakes and springs were worshipped for their benevolence and equally for their destructive powers. Their female counter-parts also figure in the Mathura art of this period.[154]

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Architectural pieces and Bacchanalian Scenes :

Architectural pieces such as toranas, friezes, railings, cross-bars, basements, pillar-slabs, door-jams, capitals, urdhva-patta are reminiscent of the once existing architectural pattern of the Kushana period.[155] In the absence of scientific excavations of the last century, it has not been possible to suggest the civic plan of the town, and its architecture, although the items mentioned above must have formed parts of the monuments. There are no doubt traces of Buddhist and Jain stupas, and of the Royal portrait gallery of Huvishka. The famous tablet of homage - ayagapata - set up by the courtesan Lona Sobhika depicts the stupa in relief with its architraves and toranas and columns. These pieces have beautiful carvings in stone, suggestive of the high standard of sculptor's art. They are equally important for depicting the life of the people, particularly of the affluent class. The bacchanalian scenes are not devoid of sensual thrust which is a characteristic feature of the Kushana art. Nudity, eroticism, dancing and music are faithfully depicted. The sculptor is very successful in the use of his chisel. The nude and semi-nude female figures in the company of their lovers in association with trees and birds like parrots are portrayed in a sensuous manner.[156] Coomaraswamy suggests in this context that they are not girls, but Yakshis, devatas or Vrikshas, nymphs and dryads regarded as auspicuous emblems of vegetative fertility derived from popular beliefs. The erotic suggestion of some kind, implied or clearly expressed and emphasised with reference to vegetative sexual motif, is presented with frankness or transparency.

Here a new piece of sculpture from Maholi deserves special attention. It is a bacchanalian scene, not a nude or semi-nude

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vegative motif, but comprises of several members of the family, including parents and children. In the centre, a graceful female figure in half-kneeling posture, is supported by her husband by the arm to prevent her from drooping. A small girl to the left holds the drinking cup, and the lady seems to clasp it to her bosom. A female attendant stands at the back. On the reverse side of the slab the scene consists of four figures of whom the one to the left is a royal lady dancing with her female parasol bearer by her side. To the right is a male person slightly intoxicated, and his attendant at the back supports his master.[157]

The panel of the door jamb depicting the toilet scene is suggestive of the social life of the people. The woman and the cage, the lover and the beloved on the balcony, and the woman standing on the back of a prostrated male dwarf[158] are indicative of the fate of the lover in the ultimate analysis. It might be suggested that the toilet scene reminds one of the Nanda and Sundari episode in which the lady hands over her mirror to her lord to hold it up till she gave the finishing touch to her toilet.[159] Several other scenes could as well be associated with Asvaghosha's analysis of women's character as recorded in his Kavyas. These could serve as a deterrent or corrective force for the votaries arriving at the place of worship.

Terracottas :

Some terracotta pieces of this period also deserve notice. These include the Sālabhañjikā[160], youngman playing on a harp,[161] mother and child,[162] the female with parrot,[163] amorous couple[164] and even Siva linga.[165] The terracotta pieces seem to suggest experimentation with the same motif in a different form. Moulds

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were prepared and the earthern stuff was baked. A corpulant figure[166] is shown seated to front on an ornamented chair and holding in her left hand a male child, and wearing a wreath of beads round its neck and its loins. The figure has a wreath on her hand, heavy pendants in her ears, a row of bracelets and a tilaka. These baked toys were meant for children and are at the moment important as an appraisal of the cultural life of the times.

Foreign Elements :

As pointed out earlier, it was Cunningham who first suggested[167] that a small body of Bactrian sculptor had found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathura and they introduced foreign elements in Mathura art. This was easily rejected by Growse[168] who proposed that Mathura art was based on indigenous traditions. Smith agreed[169] with him in finding very little in common between Mathura art and that of Gandhara. On the other hand, Grundwedel[170] found Mathura purely representing Greek subjects amongst which he took the representation of Mara with bows and arrows. Vogel, however,[171] took the middle course. According to him, at both the ends the subjects were essentially Indian, notwithstanding their classical form which is more prominent in Gandhara than in Mathura. The latter represents on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Bharhut and Sanchi, and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhara. Stracey's Silenius,[172] now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 'Herakles strangling the Nemean lion,[173] also in that Museum, are supposed to be the best specimens of Gandhara art in Mathura. It was, however, proposed by Vogel[174] that 'the so-called Silenus' in question was no doubt classical in character, but it did not reach even the lowest standard of Greek or Hellenistic art. He as well drew attention to the freezes with garland carrying

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figures, derived from the cupids in the same posture as on the Sacrophagi of Hellenistic and Roman art. The few sculptures showing similarity in treatment have little in justification for assuming a direct Greek or Hellenistic influence or even the existence of a body of Bactrian artists in ancient Mathura. The contact of Mathura with Central Asia was also responsible for the importation of head dress - the conical caps - of which we find several illustrations in Mathura art. The figure of the Kambuja queen in blue schist found in Mathura is also notable. It can therefore be presumed that the contact between these two centres - Mathura and Gandhara - need not be ruled out and that accounted for a few pieces of Hellenic-Gandhara art in Mathura. Benjamin Rowland [175] however traced clear signs of Hellenistic and Parthian influance in the Devakula portraits from Mathura.

As a result of the study of Kushana art from Gandhara and Mathura, it could be suggested that it represented the period of efflorescence rather than the beginning or the decadence of creative activities. The patronage of the Kushana rulers, particularly Kanishka and his successors, the artists found an atmosphere for displaying their talents. In doing so they took recourse to the earlier existing traditions. The Graeco-Romans at the western end turned to the models of their countries, accepting Apollo as the best figure for depicting Buddha. The Mathura artists, however, had the Yaksha figure noted for their mass and weight as the ideal figure for portraying the statue of Buddha. The shaven-headed Lord dressed in dhoti or sanghati, offering protection to the people with his weight and height, is different from the genial young face of Apollo like Buddha with his ushanishes - head dress and drapery in folds. The ornamentation of Bodhisattvas seeking enlightenment

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is not traced in early Bodhisattva figure from Mathura. Art as well served as a mirror of social life at both the centres, depicting its various aspects, including bacchalanian and drinking scenes. Nudity is conspicuous at Mathura and there are some implied sensuous scenes portrayed in art to convey some lessons in morality and good conduct in life. The female with parrot, carrying the cage, trampelling the dwarf, striking the Asoka tree with her left foot and standing in the Salabhanjika pose appear to suggest something more than the vegetative phenomena of life. This aspect of Mathura art is replaced later on in the Gupta period by refinement, naturalism, simplicity of expression and elegance with a strong religious and spiritual appeal.

The Kushana Art in Central Asia - Afghanistan

The Central Asian phase of Kushana art could best be studied in the context of archaeological excavations in the two regions of Bactria (Tokharistan) in the basin of the Oxus (Amu-Darya) and its tributaries, and in Arachosia and Nagarahara - Ninhar now Kabulistan and the Jalalabad Province of Afghanistan. The important sites associated with the Kushanas art in Bactria are Surkh Kotal, about 232 Km. north of Kabul, Tiliya-tepe (Golden Hill), 5 Km. north of Shaberghan and Dilberjin Kazan, 4 Km. north-west of Balkh. The first one is noted for the remains of dynastic temples which were set up during the reign of the Great Kushan king Kanishka and his successors. In the main temple a square fire pillar was found. According to Kieffer, [176] Surkh Kotal was an immense architectural complex with the following constituents : A wall of circumvallation following the shape of the hill with dwelling places inside a rectangular inside wall fortified with bastions. On the top a large

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peribol with a peristyle, a portico with a high relief, stone figures and clay statues had their setting, and in the middle the temple. Two kilometres to the east was another rum, the rectangular platform of a Buddhist chamber where stood clay statues covered with stucco. An inscription using the Greek script in three editions enabled the main site to be attributed to Kanishka himself.

The most important finds are the statues, providing an interesting artistic and cultural study in comparison with the statues of the Kushana ruler Kanishka and others from Mat (Mathura). The material used in both is no doubt different. It is red sand stone at Mat while at the other end the Surkh-Kotal used a sheely lime stone. The attitudes portrayed at both the sites is the same. The statue of Kanishka at Mat and No. 2 at Surkh-Kotal have the same posture - standing with the feet turned out as on the coinage. It was probably the way of representing rulers and court officials. The characteristic features of the style are rigidity, symmetry and frontality. There are, however, differences in the details, as for example, the statue of Kanishka at Mat presents a very rough back view, since his position 'in situ' is against the wall. The artists seem to have been mainly concerned with the front view. Further, in Mat and Surkh Kotal, the space between the legs is left uncovered. It appears from the architectural plan, the ornamental details, the same stone sculpture and epigraphical data that the Kushana artists at both the centres of Kushana empire were engaged in providing a common perspective in style and presentation of the statues of royalty and nobility of foreign background. The Surkh-Kotal artists and their contributions provide evidence of an indigenous Bactrian art which at one time was supposed to be a 'lost

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art'. The Kushan fire temple at Surkh-Kotal with its long inscription in Bactrian Greek is considered by Schlumberge to be a link in the evolution of the art of Gandhara from the lost culture of Hellenistic Bactria.

Dilverjin :

Dilverjin,[177] unlike Surkh Kotal, was excavated by Afghan-Soviet Archaeological Mission for several seasons. It revealed wall paintings showing traces of Bactrian style as influenced by Transoxania. These are important for the study of art in Northern Afghanistan during the Kushan period. These are compared with the paintings from Balatik Tepe in Southern Uzbekistan, dated by the Soviet Archaeologists, to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The dating proposed for the paintings of Dilberjin is the first half of the fifth century A.D. The facade of the temple is decorated with a painting representing the Dioscuroi, along with the horse, while another painting on a later wall of the same temple depicts Siva and Parvati seated on Nandi, the bull, and attended by devotees.

Bamiyan :

Central Afghanistan during the Kushana period was dominated by Buddhism and its specific culture. The typical example of this culture is represented by Bamiyan,[178] situated in the valley between the Hindu Kush and the Kohi Baba ranges. In its hey-day it occupied an important position on the trade route from Bactria to Taxila. The two colossal statues of Buddha represented as Lokottara, the 'Lord of the World' cut in the rock at the eastern and western approaches of the town dominate the Buddhist complex in this region. The cliff between these covering about a Kilometre in circuit is honey-combed with a conglomeration of cave chapels, assembly halls

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and cellas for the Buddhist marks. Some of these grottos are connected by galleries within and along the front of the precipice for purposes of circumbulation. The fifty-three metre high Buddha, like the smaller colossus, has access to its summit through a system of stair ways which was destroyed with the crumbling of a great mass of the face of the cliff. At the time of Hsuan-tsang's visit the great Buddha shone golden in the sun- probably because of its being gift coloured.

Paintings :

Bamiyan is also noted for its paintings. The surviving examples reveal a synthesis of different styles and trends from Gandhara, Syria, Sassania, Iran and India. Classical traditions are assimilated by Buddhism. These wall paintings are divided into cycles of Indian, Sassanian and purely Central Asian style. Sassanian influence in the reliefs of the Iranian kings translated here into painting, as also in the massive figures of donors alternating with figures of Buddha and in the decoration of the ceiling of the niche. The Indian style of painting bears resemblance to the surviving examples of painting in India before the fifth and six centuries A.D. The side walls of the niche from top to bottom are painted with row upon row of figures of seated Buddha, each in different and characteristic mudras. Above are the medallions with flying divinities and finally on the vault of the niche,, the whole pantheon of Bodhisattvas figure. The dating of the paintings at Bamiyan is provided by the evidence in the style of the two great giant Buddhas. The lesser colossus is placed not earlier than the year 200, and the larger one about the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The Indian style of paintings and sculpture at Foundikistan in the hidden valley of Ghorbang

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brought to light by the French Mission in 1936, are equally interesting. Its best specimen is that of Bodhisattva Maitreya - with its thoroughly Indian character. It is of a much later period contemporary with the Tantric forms of Pala art in Bengal to which it is akin stylically and spiritually.

Begram :

The ruins of Begram,[179] ancient Kapisa, about 64 kilometres to the north-east of Kabul near the banks of the Panjshir River as well provide an interesting study. It was the summer capital of the Kushan king Kanishka. The ruins of Begram represent three stages in the history of this famous city.[180] The first one modelled on the plan of a Hellenistic city was the capital of the last of the Graeco-Bactrian kings and the first ruler of the Kushan dynasty. The second phase was associated with the period of Kanishka and his successors, with new palaces and fortifications. The town was violently destroyed by fire, probably at the time of the Sassanian invasion early in the forties of the second century A.D. The last town was built on the ruins of the preceding one and was probably abandoned with the arrival of the Hephthalites in the fifth century A.D. Here a vast treasure trove of objects from the Mediterranean and the Orient were discovered inside two rooms. This extraordinary collection included glass vessels from Syria and Egypt, bronze vessels of western manufacture, Roman steelyard weights and statuettes, caskets and plaques of carved bone and ivory from India. Lacquer bowls from China were discovered in another room. The Kushana coins of Kanishka and Vasudeva were also found in conjunction with the treasure. The magnificent collection of ivory carvings include those of large figures of dancers or courtesans carved almost in the complete round. These ivory carvings belong to the Indian tradition.

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One of the most beautiful panels shows ladies at the toilet.

The Begram collection contains a number of examples of painted glassware and also bronze statuettes. The Begram art appears to be purely secular and the finds point to active relations between India and the west with the adoption of western and Indian styles from the first to the third century A.D. The find of such a treasure of classical luxury goods at Kapisa, seems to indicate, according to Rowland,[181] 'a prevalent taste for Graeco-Roman art'.

Hadda[182] :

The ruined monastery city of Hadda, about 8 Km. south of Jalalabad, with its myriad towers and monasteries was at its apex in the fifth century A.D. at the time of visit of Fa-hien. In the time of Hsuan-tsang in 632, there were many Sangharamas with a few priests and the stupas ruined and desolate. Here too, the stupas and viharas, like those in the Gandhara region at Peshawar and Taxila, were completely encased with stucco decorations. It seems that a school of stucco sculpture was flourishing in this ancient site of Nagarahara between the middle of the third century A.D. and the fifth century. This dryly spiritualised Gandhara art for the Buddha images appears to be a living and natural array of facial types of such figures. The work here represents a genuine religious art. The talents of the craftsmen could be traced not only in these figures but also in numerous others of attendants in large relief compositions.

Archaeological excavations by French Archaeological Delegation and the Afghan Archaeological Mission have revealed many Sangharamas, stupas and porchs decorated with statues and paintings. The objects found here include statues of the Buddha, those of

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Buddhist monks, donors, vajrapanis, as also coins and pottery. The art style is associated with the school of Gandhara with a blending of Bactrian, Graeco-Roman and Indian concepts and norms. The region seems to have attained its artistic fame under the Kushans and later on as well. The sculptures are in schist and lime stone and to a great extent in clay, stucco or lime plaster.[183] Marshall proposes that the stucco sculptural art was a late Indo-Bactrian Renaissance, while Bachhofer suggests it to be a later development of the Gandhara style. While the wavy hair and the diadened crown are suggestive of a Graeco-Roman proto-type, the sensuous fulness of the face with its sharply modelled brows and eyes point to the Indian ideal prominent in the Gupta. The extension of the Hadda medium of stucco sculpture throughout ancient Gandhara as also in Chorasima or Khwarazem in Russian Turkestan is equally interesting. It is not certain if the statuary of Toprakkala was a local development of an earlier Bactrian tradition or it was a northernly provincial extension of the figural sculptural art of Hadda and the Kabul valley. The technique of stucco or lime plaster, as used at Hadda and throughout the ancient region of Gandhara, is supposed to be invented, according to Rowland,[184] in Alexandria in the late Hellenistic period as an inexpensive substitute for marble.

Tillya - Tepe :

Among other sites associated with the art and archaeology of the Kushan times may be mentioned Tillya-tepe (Golden Hill), 5 Km. north of Sheberghan. It was excavated by the Afghan-Soviet Archaeological Mission in late seventies. It is said to be an old site of a temple of the second millenium B.C., as also of a palace of the Achaemenid times. It was destroyed by Alexander's

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forces. It was later on re-occupied some time in the first century A.D. and was used as a grave yard in the time of the Kushanas. The objects found here of the later period are the products of Bactrian artists, but equally influenced by local factors. These are compared with the Begram hoard and provide evidence of contacts with India, Parthia, Rome and China.[185]

Patava and Shotorak :

These two sites near Begram were excavated by the French Archaeological Delegation. The Sangharamas at both the sites, meant for the Buddhist monks, were decorated with sculpture, mostly carvings in the blue-grey schist of Gandhara. These include the image of the Buddha and other Buddhist divinities and scenes from the Jataka. The carvings here such as the monumental reliefs of the Buddha and Kasyapa point to the deeply carved reliefs of the Gandhara pattern of the second-third century A.D.[186] Local influence is traceable in Patava carvings. A typical example of this influence is the figure of a standing donor under the Sala tree carrying offerings. He wears the usual Kushana mantle, baggy trouser and feet boots similar to that of the famous statues of Kanishka from Mat (Mathura) and Surkh Kotal. The donors are similarly portrayed. here.

Tope Sardar and Tope Maranjan :

The former was excavated by the Italian mission in 1959. Situated south of Ghazin, it revealed interesting material mostly related to the period of the Later Kushanas. A rich decorative complex made of unbaked-clay sculpture was destroyed, followed by thick filling layers. These were similar to those of the Kapisa, Fondikistan, Tope Maranjan and Jalalabad regions. The clay sculp-

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ture of the earlier phase of Tepe Sardar with its tradition of Bactrian Hellenism shows affinities with the clay images of Surkh Kotal and Tepe Maranjan.[187]

Tepe Maranjan :

The remains of the Tepe Maranjan monastery on the outskirts of Kabul include sculpture in clay with a thick veneer of lime plaster. These are supposed to belong to late fourth century A.D. According to Rowland,[188] these appear to be a later development of Hadda style and anticipate the style of cave G at Bamiyan and of Fondukistan, combining both sculpture and painting. The Bodhisattvas here are distinguished by the jewellery put on by them.

Western Central Asia :

The spread of Buddhism in Central Asia was an event of great importance in the Kushana period, a fact which is testified by explorations and excavations of ancient sites.[189] Among the important sites in this context in Western Central Asia - till recently called Soviet Central Asia - may be mentioned Termez, Kara-tepe and Ajina Tepe in the Amu Darya valley, Kafir-kala and Kaji-Kala in Tadjikistan and Afrasayab and Pendijikent near modern Samarkand in Uzbekistan. Termez (ancient Tarmita), an Uzbek site, situated on the Oxus (Vaksha) river was an important Buddhist centre in Central Asia where a number of Buddhist monuments were discovered. Fragments of stone statues of the Buddha executed in the Gandhara style were found here. The excavations revealed Buddhist temple with bronze lions. The discovery of wall paintings at Balatik-tepe, near Airtan[190] Termez provides an interesting study. These are dated in the fifth century and are supposed to be contem-

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porary with the earliest of the Tun-huang paintings. Certain features, such as the ornamental motifs on garments, the crowns with veils and belts as well as small kusti, completing the clothing of the figures are supposed to be of Sassanian inspiration.[191] The Greek influence as well prevailed and very frequently contained the rising tide of Sassanian[192] Persia. The earlier Indo-Hellenic blend is noticed at its best in the fragments of a superb sculptured lime stone freeze of the first century A.D. discovered[193] at Airtam, located some 18 Km. north-west of Termez. It is supposed to have adopted a Buddhist monastery. The freeze displays a row of youths and girls shown half-length bearing garland and musical instruments of local origin. The style is clearly Kushan and the workmanship local. Hellenistic influence is traced in the use of acanthus leaves to separate the youths and girls. The Indian and Hellenistic elements are reflected both in the modelling of the people and in the choice of decorative motifs such as garland, but their vital rendering points to the hand of a local artist.

Khalchayan :

The ruins of Khalchayan[194] in southern Uzbegistan (near the river Surkhan Darya) to the east of Termez also provide interesting details of archaeological and artistic importance. The finds include some fragments of clay sculpture which had decorated the walls of the iwan and the main hall. These include besides gods and goddesses - Athena, Apollo and Satyrs etc. Various personages belong to the native population of the area. Along the top of the walls runs a freeze of garland carried by boys like Italian putti with girls, musicians, dancers, satyrs and other figures connected with the cult of Dionysus. In addition to the sculptures, small

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fragments are supposed to represent an early development of the style which Schlumbergar calls the dynastic style as opposed to the temple art of Buddhism.

Toprak-Kala :

It is another site of importance and was excavated by Tolstov and his team of archaeologists.[195] Situated near Termez, the town was under occupation from the first century A.D. until the sixth one as the capital of Chorasma. The town was noted for its large and busy market and contained several hundred rooms, and was defended by three massive towers. Certain sculptural finds here include the head of alabaster - a stone readily available in Afghanistan. These suggest stylistic affinity with the Indo-Hellenic art of the Kushanas. A clay statue, life-size and painted, found in the 'Hall of Kings' of Toprak-Kala is said to be directly based on Hellenistic example. So are the stuccos and painted decorations, though much deteriorated, seem to have been inspired by Hellenistic works.[196] The decorations closely resemble with the one at Pendjikent both in style and details. The finest murals appear in the 'Hall of kings'. Here the walls had pinkish borders with white lines painted above them on a blue ground. In the 'Alabaster Hall', the walls are decorated with floral motives cut and engraved on alabaster. The next room - 'the Hall of Victories' is decofated with sculpture of seated kings feasting in the company of the goddess of victory. 'The Warriors Hall' contains sculptures of warriors wearing chain mail armour painted black and holding cave shields. Other decorations include a painted frieze of gryphons, dancing couple, vividly rendered musicians and a decorative piece of composition of women gathering pears and grapes. Among the fragments received from the filings are paintings of tigers, horses and birds.

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The Cemetries :

The Kurgan - mound or tumulus - cemetries[197] as well form part of the art of Central Asia. These are dated from the 2nd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.They are more or less of regular conical shape, usually of earth, but in some areas of stone. These are classified according to the method of their construction, such as 'the shaft type', the 'catacomb type' and the 'underground type'. The first one consists of an oblong trench, in the long side of which is a recess or niche, and in this recess the body is laid. The second one - consists of a large vaulted chamber with a narrow entrance. There are also kurums, of a round stone built chamber with an architectural entrance and a dome-shaped roof. These cemetries often yield valuable archaeological material with a variety of pottery and wooden vessels and clothing, implements and utensils, ornaments and toilet articles.

The Art of Serindia :

The art of Serindia, as the region came to be called by Aurel Stein, which had developed amidst the political viscissitudes of a number of centuries, roughly from the first century of the Christian era until the Muslim invasion reveals the play of various influences upon it. In its earliest phase supposed to be Graeco-Buddhist in form, it is suggestive of Indian as also of Persian influence, followed by the Chinese influence. Later on, this art was cut off from its Persian and Indian sources of inspiration due to Islamic conquest. The earliest phase of Central Asian art in the Tarim Basin, following the course of the southern centres of the Silk Route, is traced in the paintings at Miran, Endere, Niya and those forming the Khotan group at Yoiken, Rawak and Dandan-Oilik and

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AK-terak. The remnants of art in these centres represent the earliest phase of Central Asian art.

The Paintings at Miran :

The ruins of Miran, 198 located south of Lop Nor in a region probably supplied from Cherchen Darya comprise a massive building, square in plan, On a circular base in a round room inside stands a stupa invisible from outside. As a result of this protection, the ruins with wall paintings were preserved through the centuries. These paintings might be dated from the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th through comparison with other paintings from Western Asia. Apart from their artistic and technical interest, the Miran paintings suggest familiarity with the Gandhara art. In fact, Miran is considered as the outpost of Gandhara art. The motive of festooned garland carried on the shoulders of amorini, as also the winged angel busts placed in the upper hollows of the festoon rendered in a more interesting way appear to be, in line, or rather an improved version of the same in Gandhara sculpture. According to Aurel Stein the approach to purely classical design and colouring was closer in these frescos than in any work of ancient pictorial art.

Further, the painted dado of beautiful winged angels, as classical representations of Cherubim, recall cherished scenes of 'Christian imagery', most surprisingly on the walls of what was beyond all doubt a Buddhist monastery. This might be due to the importation of classical artists. The name of one of the painters Tita - perhaps the equivalent of Titus, very probably a Roman subject of Asian origin but Hellenistic training, is recorded in Kharoshthi on the leg of an elephant in the famous Vessantara

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Jataka scene. In fact, during the third and fourth centuries A.D., the whole of Central Asia formed a peripheral area within the Greco-Roma sphere of influence. The classical influence is supposed to have emanated from the semi-classical school of Gandhara art. The artists exhibited classical elements not only in the treatment of drapery, but also in the skilful use of chiroscuro-treatment of light and shed in their paintings. The wall decorations of Miran are considered as the most extensive group of Gandhara paintings in view of some highly significant features of their style and iconography. These are linked up with a particular trend of Gandhara art, rich in brilliant elements.

Some Notable Paintings :

Among the notable paintings may be mentioned the Buddha with six monks,[199] the figure seated on throne probably Gautama Bodhisattva and heads of two worshippers. The first one shows the Master standing dressed in a simple robe of dark red brown colour - characteristic of Indian tradition. The halo and the top-knob of hair, partly broken and the right hand raised in the pose of protection (abhayamudra) confirm the figure to be the Buddha. Behind the teacher and to his left are six monks or arhats ranged in two rows and wearing robes in a variety of bright colours. The monks are conspicuous by their shaven heads. The monk on the left hand of the upper row carries a white fan, probably meant for a chauri - Yak tail traditionally associated with holy or regal personalities. The fresco fragment is noted for artistic treatment in composition, design and colouring.[200]

The other figure (Ill. 002), probably Gautama Bodhisattva as a teacher, has a dark red undergarment reaching from the hips to the ankles, with a buff-coloured cloak thrown over the left shoulder,

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leaving most of the upper part of the body bare. The drapery is unmistakably classical. The head dress is rather curious - a white conical cap enriched with rings and two lunette-shaped red flaps, probably of a local character. Of the second adorning figure on the left, only the part of the knee and arm are noticed. The big eyes, the drooping ones of the adorning sitting figure, and the gazing and attentive one of the other one and the Indian loin cloth and the scarf- are suggestive of Indian influence. The theme of the painting remains unidentified.

The third interesting fresco fragment[201] (III. 0019) portrays heads of two worshippers - girls with folded hands as they gaze with their wide eyes towards the left. The faces are fair with pink cheeks and are painted with definite chirascuro, the shades being pearly-grey. The girl to the left is very young and is in an amusing mood, while that to the right appears older, more sophisticated and stern in her look. The smiling lips of the younger one are solid red, while the transverse wrinkle in the necks of both suggest their noble birth. The black hair is long and stylistly dressed, with stresses falling behind the ears to the shoulders and wavy-locks on the cheeks. The hair on the forehead of the girl on the right, precisely and fancifully arranged, suggest her gentle upbringing. While bands crown the hair of the girls and their eyebrows are delicately arched, distinguishingly separated. The ears are not much elongated. Their dress is stylist. The robe of the figure to the left is yellow, outlined with red V-shape opening at the neck ; that of the other is similar in form, but light green outlined with dark grey. Andrews, providing this description, considers them to be the two daughters of Prince Vessantara, ready to participate in the drama of renunciation as narrated in the Jataka story.

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Another interesting feature at Miran is a scheme of a heavy floral garland carried on the shoulders of youthful supporters placed at regular intervals, and undulating completely round the shrine. A typical head and bust of a man or woman rises between supporters from each hollow followed by the downward droop of the festoon. This motive is widely used in Gandhara sculpture.[202] The supporters in the example at Miran are reminiscent of Italian amorini dipped in Eastern nuances. They are sometimes clothed in Persian garments consisting of a narrow sleeved tunic and Phrygian cap, and sometimes only in a scanty loin cloth. Another figure is that of a young Indian prince,[203] clean shaven, except for a curling moustache and cap similar to the one in the attitude of worshipping the Buddha. The dreamy looking eyes with an expression of softness are supposed to be typically Indian. The characteristic head dress is also Indian, with two red-lined flaps turned upwards over the forehead, and a white pugree - turban wound round it. Its end is gathered behind into a sort of hood, as seen in many Gandhara sculptures representing prince Siddhartha and other royal figures.

Indian Conception and Execution :

There is considerable internal evidence in these paintings, of which only a few important ones are noticed here to suggest their Indian conception and execution. The men are Indian, some with full moustache and beard, dressed in Indian garments with bare feet. The hands are also those of Indians. In the destroyed painting of the Vessantara Jataka, earlier recorded by Aurel Stein, the elephant shows the accuracy of form and truth of action as could be faithfully rendered by Indian artists alone. The girls, although suggestive of the Persian type of beauty, might well have been Indian, as

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proposed by Andrew.[204] It is further proposed that the use of Kharoshthi and the legend about an Indian colony in Khotan in Asoka's time strengthens probability that Indian artists, familiar with Buddhist lore, might have found employment for their skill along the Silk Route passing through Miran.

The Technique of Miran Paintings :

The technique of Miran paintings which are all in tempera, is in conformity with the well-developed methods. The design is first drawn on paper and then transferred to the whitened wall surface either by pouncing through the pricked drawing or by other familiar means. The transferred outlines are then lightly traced over with a pale colour for fixations. Next follows the colour scheme with the use of brush adding shading tints to suggest chiaroscuro. The contours are strengthened with soft brush lines of red or dark grey, with the blending of other colours. Emphasis is provided with the final touches of black or red, while grey is used for highlights and the eyes. The colours are few and those too locally available from mineral sources, lamp black and indigo, and occasionally of other vegetable origins.

An Estimate :

It is proposed that the wall decorations of Miran symbolise on the strength of their style and their Buddhist content, compositions and motif of the Kushano-Iranian type, form the most extensive group of Gandhara school's normal area of diffusion. This school is supposed to have been transplanted into pictorial terms at Miran. In other words, the art of Miran may be considered as an outpost of Gandhara art, suggesting contact between the peoples of Central Asia and those of the Kushana empire. As

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an earlier example of Buddhist pictorial art, the Miran paintings do not appear to be nascent but products of an evolved and fairly matured technique.

The Khotan Complex [205] :

The so-called school of Khotan provides evidence of assimilation of Indian, Sassanian, Chinese and perhaps Chorasmian influences, and recasted here as in an original form. The imprint of Graeco-Buddhist art predominates in the earlier phase. The complex provides examples of the stupa, of certain Greco-Buddhist elements in the plan of monasteries and in wall paintings. Indian influences, supposed to be Gupta, are noticed in various objects discovered in the Khotan area, such as stylised drapery in stucco, oval faces with simplified treatment of the hair and idealised expression, closely clinging drapery and in particular flying figure bearing garlands. These seem to have come from Kashmir in India. Iranian details as well appear in several examples. With the blending of foreign influence, a new style of painting emerged about the middle of the sixth century, particularly noticed in the wall paintings of shrines and monuments of the Domko group, east of Khotan. The Khotanese school of painting centred round the monasteries of Rawak, Dandan-Oiliq, Niya and Endere, all lying to the north and north-east of Domko on the southern route about 9.720 Km. south-west of Miran. Since Miran was supposed to be eastern outpast of Gandhara art, and paintings are products of an evolved and matured technique, it is natural to presume that it was from Khotan or through it that pictorial art reached Miran. The impact of the Kushan art of Gandhara on this complex seems to have been felt much earlier than at Miran. Among the notable specimens of the Khotan school of painting may be

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mentioned the figure of Hariti, the surviving bust of a Tantric Buddha in meditation and the worshipper, the Iranian Bodhisattva, the silken princess shown on a wooden tablet, the Bodhisattva of the Tantric type.

The goddess Hariti[206] in her regenerate spirit is attended by five children symbolising her feature as protectress and nourisher of children.

The bust of the Buddha from Balawaste[207] with the symbolic motifs of the Tantric type adorning it, symbolises the influence of Mahayana Buddhism with local influence accentuating it. The Tantric symbols include the sun, the moon, the two flaming jewels on lotus flowers, the two books on the upper arms together with the Vajra (thunderbolt) on the forearm. Another painted figure from Balawaste worth noting is supposed to be that of a worshipper or of Indra. The figure is either kneeling or sitting with his legs crossed. The eyes are downcast and hands folded. The head is covered with a close-fitting cap with a headband in dark pink colour. This beautiful picture seems distinctly Indian in structure, colouring, costume and style.

Hindu Influence :

The Hindu influence on the Buddhist paintings in the context of Tantric symbols is evident from the paintings of the Buddhist god of the Tantric type from Balawaste.[208] The fragment shows on lower part a trimurti divinity with a small seated Buddha above to left and the toes of a large figure standing on a lotus to right. The central figure has a third eye in the forehead and a long thin moustache. The eyes are heavy-lidded and dreamy. On the head is a skull set against the black top-knob. An example of this figure with slight variations, is the one painted on an extremely interes-

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ting wooden panel found by Aurel Stein[209] at the ancient site of Dandan-Oiliq in 1900. It is suggested that this figure of Siva was imported into Mahayana Buddhism from Brahmanic Iconography.

Other Impacts & Subjects :

While the Hindu influences appear to have come through Kashmir, the Khotanese school has also examples of purely Iranian details. The Iranian Bodhisattva[210] from Dandan-Oiliq is one such example. It is characterised by the elongation of the body and other features. Painted on a wooden tablet this fine votive image is four-armed, black bearded, wearing a pale green close-fitting tunic. He sits on a cushion and has nimbus. On the back is depicted a three-headed goddess of the Tantric type but definitely connected with Buddhism. Another wooden tablet depicts the legend of the famous silk princess[211] who secretly introduced the silk worm culture in Khotan. This no doubt appears to be of a later period incorporating various tendencies Indian, Iranian and Chinese. The figure at the top is four-armed and has two of the attributes of the Iranian Bodhisattva, the cup and the knife with a short triangular blade. Similar images are found, with minor variations, on a number of panels from Dandan-Oiliq. This school and its painters were admired in contemporary China.

The Northern Schools[212] :

The art centres on the Northern Route Kizil, Kucha and Turfan with the neighbouring centres, Kumtura (Kucha region) and Bezaklik, Toyuq and Ocio in the Turfan region also provide illustrations of pictorial art. The Kucha school of painting seems to have begun in the 4th century A.D. and continued till the 8th century A.D. representing broadly its two distinct phases - the first one Indo-Iranian flourishing around c. 500 A.D. and the second one

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strongly Iranian reaching its climax about A.D. 600--650. The former is seen in the way of composition of the subjects from the Buddhist texts with the portrayl of the Buddha in serene and tranquil way.

The Indian Influence :

The Indian influence is seen in the way of composition of the subjects from the Buddhist texts. The pictorial details and dress have obviously Iranian influence. The Painters cave at Kizil is dated in c. A.D. 500 on the basis of the character of inscriptions. The paintings show signs of Indian mannerism and style, as is evident from the famous painting of the cowherd[213] listening to a serman of the Buddha. The vigorous cowherd leans on a knotted stick, watching over his animals as he listens devotedly to the words of the Buddha. He is deep in his concentration, unmindful of the poor frog beneath him crushed with his stick. The two cattles - one dark in colour and the other white, lie on the ground behind the central figure. The Buddha is shown seated on the throne with his hand raised in the gesture of teaching.

Another illustration of the first phase is the picture of a young ascetic[214] in his shells of foliage in the 'Cave of the Navigator' at Kizil. The elongated dreaming eyes of this figure, of about the same date as the cowherd, show strong Indian influence. So also the group of swimmers from the Cave of the Navigator,[215] Kizil, about 500 A.D., now in the State Museum, Berlin, is another example of contemporary painting. The scene shows three men swimming among water lilies, the middle one seems hardly able to keep his head above water, while the one to the right exhibits his powerful strokes symbolising great determination. The face is similar to that of the cowherd. The elongated eyes of the swimmers, the

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stylized swirls of the water as also his work show Indian influence.

The Frescoes and their dual purpose :

The frescoes at Kizil and elsewhere served a dual purpose of religious instruction and providing decorative scenes with an overall picture of Buddha's life and activities. The Greco-Buddhist influence is evident in many iconographic details, while the undulating elements along with refinement and lightness characterise post Indian.- Kushan influence. Decorative motifs and certain details of the dress however suggest Iranian influence.

It is needless to describe the paintings of other centres of the Northern Route Group since the Kushan empire never extended as far as that part of Central Asia and there might be of much later period. Time and space therefore preclude us from making a survey of these paintings. As for the paintings from the Southern Route Centres, since Miran in the farther east has been supposed to be the eastern outpost of Gandhara art, it is reasonably certain that those centres to the west of Miran must have felt the impact of Gandhara art earlier than at Miran itself. Moreover, since the inscriptions from Niya, Endere and Loulan have formed the base of our study of socio-economic life in Central Asia, a study of paintings in these areas is not inconsequential in the present context.

A Review :

Central Asia with its eclectic atmosphere welcomed art talents from outside. It took over and recasted with considerable success the art forms of the great sedentary civilization, those of the semi-classical of the East, of Iran, of Indo-Greek and Indo-

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Scythian art, and of Kushana and post-Kushana India. The art of China had its impact in later times and is very prominent in the eastern zone in close proximity to China. The Indian influence or traits have an upper hand in centres on the Southern Silk Route. The Central Asian people were close to each other in their spiritual outlook and artistic expression with extraordinary analogies of style and iconography. The inexhaustive subject matter was provided by the Buddhist legends, The Jatakas - for the artists to display their talents. When elements from the Indian complex mythology, with rich possibilities offered by Hindu and Tantric importations, were added, the scope of the artist was immensely extended. The earliest centres - Miran and the sites lying on the old Silk Route suggest familiarity with the Gandhara art. Besides classical elements like the motive of the festoon garland carried on the shoulders of amorini, as also the winged angel busts, there is continued narration as provided in the Jatakas.

Indian conception and execution could be noticed in the type of persons in Indian dress, while the Persian type of beauty suggests Iranian contacts. The reference to Titus and the fees paid to him, as recorded in a Kharoshthi inscription confirms the role of the Indo-Greek artists in this area. The Gandhara school is supposed to have been transplanted into pictorial lines at Miran where Romano-Hellenic influences are quite apparent. In the Khotan complex to the west of Miran, the imprint of Greco-Buddhist art predominates between the fifth and eighth centuries. The elongated matching eyes are drawn in Indian fashion and the beautiful figure of a worshipper kneeling in prayer from Balawaste are all Indian in style, structure, colouring and costume.

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The western part of Central Asia, formerly comprising Soviet Central Asian Republics, had its own cultural ethos as also its art forms. A number of sites in this region were ancient Buddhist centres. The wall-paintings at Balatik-Tepe near Airtam Termez are supposed to be of Sassanian inspiration with occasional prevailing of Greek influence. The earliest Indo-Hellenistic blend is noticed at its best in the fragments of a superb sculptured lime stone frieze of the first century A.D. The ruins of Khalchayan, Toprak-Kala and Pendzhikent have provided stucco figures, and wall paintings adorning the larger buildings. Their subject matter is puzzling.

Afghanistan at the periphery of Central Asia is equally notable for its art, more or less exclusively Buddhist in subject matter and classical in form with the contributions of Greek and Roman artists and using their art forms. Bamiyan is noted for its colossal statues of the Buddha represented at Lokottara, as also for its paintings on walls divided into cycles of Indian, Sassanian and purely Central Asian styles. Kakarak and Fondukistan also noted for paintings and sculptures while the ruins of Begram, ancient Kapisa, appear to be purely secular with the adoption of western and Indian styles from the first to the third century A.D. Surkh Kotal is noted for its fire temple complex and the famous inscription associated with Kanishka. A study of the Central Asian Art, particularly in the context of sculpture and painting during the period of the Kushanas, which seems to have extended in Afghanistan and probably a little beyond, to the north and east of it for a century or so longer, as contemporaries of the early Guptas, was full of art activity in all its aspects. Art was not uniform in style throughout the vast empire of the Kushanas

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and regional centres specialised in their artistic manifestations, with the subject matter continued to be Buddhist. At Mathura the artists had to cater to the needs of Brahmanic and Jain patrons as well. On the whole, the Kushana art was symbolic of the life style of the people in their social and religious settings.

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FOOTNOTES

1. A clear cut definition of the territory called Gandhara is given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang. The kingdom of Gandhara occupied the region now covered by the modern Peshawar valley, including the hilly districts of Swat and Buner in the north, and the region to the east of the Indus as far as and including Taxila, which in the sixth century B.C. was the capital of this political Janapada. The important sites noted for Gandhara art are Loriya-Tangai, Jamalgarhi, Takht-i-Bahai, Sahri-Bahlol, Shabhazgarhi, Charsadda (ancient Pushkalavati) & Shahji-ki-dheri. A comprehensive bibliography of contributions on Gandhara - its geography, art, archaeology, and history is given in Henri Deydier's Contribution a l'etude de l'art du Gandhara (Paris. 1950).

2. Cunningham was the first to date this art. According to him its golden age was under the Kushana king Kanishka and his successors (ASR. III. 39). Fergusson placed its flourishing period about 400 A.D. and its duration from the 1st cent. B.C. till the 5th cent. A.D. (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1876) p. 181-2). Smith distinguishing the Hellenistic from the Roman dated its culmination between A.D. 50 to A.D. 150 or 200 (A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 2nd ed. pp. 52-53). Grunwedel and Foucher, both suggested its beginning in the last cent. B.C. but the former placed its brightest period in the 4th cent. A.D. while the latter in the 1st cent. A.D. for its efflorescence, and the second-half of that century for its decline (Buddhistische Kunst. 1890, p. xiv ; and L'art Greco-Bouddhique II. p. 496). Vogel agreed with Foucher (The Buddhistische Kunst. 1932). Coomaraswamy put the flourishing period in the reign of Kanishka (History of India and Indonesian Art, p. 53). Rowland on the basis of stylistic comparisons, between Roman art and that of Gandhara suggests that the latter came into existence after the middle of the first century A.D., and its flourishing period lasted from the end of the 1st till the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. (The Art and architecture of India, p. 75). Marshall suggested its beginning in the last century before the Christian era (Buddhist Art of Gandhara, p.17), but it did not reach maturity until the advent of the Kushanas in the second half of the 1st cent. A.D. It was at its zenith in the 2nd cent. , declined a little in the reign of Vasudeva, and came to an abrupt end with his death and the eclipse of the Kushana empire in India (JRAS. Apl. 1947, p. 16). Ghirshman proposed a very short period, beginning in the last century A.D. apex in the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D., followed by stabilization, and finally decay in the second-half of the 3rd cent. A.D. (Begram. pp. 153-54). Bachhofer had earlier suggested that this school had probably not come into existence in the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. (JAOS. Dec. 1941, quoted by Marshall op.cit p. 6). In a late publication - Gandhara Art in Pakistan by Harold Ingholt (Pantheon, New York, 1957) activity in Gandhara art is stressed even after the Sassanian conquest about 250 A.D. - a view endorsed by Wheeler (Antiquity 23, 1949 pp. 17-18) and supported by Soper (American Journal of Archaeology 1951, p. 314), and Foucher (Ville route de l'Inde II. pp. 342-44). The writer suggests general agreement on the terminal date of Gandhara art, but not with the beginning. Absolute dating in sculpture is seldom feasible (pp. 23-24). See also Lohuizen-de-Leeuw : The

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Scythian Period pp. 75 ff. for the summary of different views on the subject.

3. Rowland. Art Bulletin. XVIII (1936) p. 387.

4. Rowland : The Art and Architecture of India p. 79.

5. ibid.

6. The question of the origin of the Buddha image has been discussed by many scholars. Their opinions are collected and summarised by Deydier (op.cit. pp. 46 ff). The main question is : Did it originate exclusively in the Graeco-Buddhist school at Gandhara, or was there a simultaneous attempt in Mathura as well ? Further, did one influence the other ? Foucher thought that the image of the Buddha originated in Gandhara alone, while Coomaraswamy was the first to defend the Indian Buddha proposition (JAOS. 46. 1926. pp. 165-176). The consensus of opinion is that the image originated at both the places independently, but the influence of one over the other, however negligible, in iconography and drapery with the passage of time may be admitted. Buchthal sees in the Buddha figure a copy of a Roman toga statue perhaps even of Augustus (Proceedings of the British Academy, xxxi, 1946, p.10) and Soper stresses the influences from the Roman workshop of the Hardian period (American Journal of Archaeology, 55, 1951, p.306). The starting point of Tarn's argument (The Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 396 ff.) that the figure of the Buddha first appears on the coins of Maues is incorrect. The supposed figure is nothing more than a seated monarch, as suggested by Coomaraswamy and Bachhofer. According to Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, the arguments of those scholars who insisted that the Buddha of Gandhara is older than that of Mathura do not hold good. (The Scythian Period p. 98). She presumes that the influence from India on Gandhara has been considerably greater than was generally assumed uptil now. The western influence, on the other hand, has probably been much less, especially in the late centuries A.D. than is generally supposed. (ibid. p. 82).

7. ASI. An. Rep. 1908-09, pp. 38-59.

8. According to Wilson (Ariana Antiqua, 1841) this reliquary was associated with coins of Azes. It is a golden casket with standing figures of Buddha and worshippers in relief in niches, the base engraved with an Indian lotus. This is generally cited as the earliest example of Graeco-Buddhist art, but coin merely provide, as Coomaraswamy suggested, a terminus post quem, and Wilson himself concluded that the stupas of Afghanistan are undoubtedly subsequent to the Christian era (op.cit. p. 322). See Coomaraswamy op.cit. p. 51.

9. Rowland. Op.cit. p. 84. He suggests that the style is a mixture of the archaic technique of the early Indian schools combined with borrowings from Classical sources.

10. Harold Ingholt : Gandhara Art in Pakistan, p. 25 pl. III. 2,3,4,5.

11. ibid. III. 2.

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12. ibid. III. 3.

13. ibid. III. 4, 5.

14. Op.cit p. 403.

15. Father Heras presumed that Gandhara art was connected with that of Mohenjodaro, and he traced the origin of the figure of the Buddha to the seated Yogi from there. (JBBRAS. XII. pp. 71-97).

16. Vogel agreed with Foucher, on account of the reliquary of Kanishka, that the golden age had passed already before the reign of that monarch (De Buddhistische Kunst van voor-Indie. p. 35).

17. Rowland : Op.cit. p. 82.

18. The Buddhist art of Gandhara, p. 25.

19. Harold Ingholt : Gandharan art in Pakistan. Fig. No. 278. The references given in this work are mostly from this magnum opus.

20. ibid. Nos. 279, 281-2.

21. ibid. No. 284.

22. ibid. No. 285.

23. ibid. No. 281.

24. ibid. No. 283.

25. Marshall & Vogel : ASI. An. Rep. 1902-03, p. 165 pl. xxv. see also Coomaraswamy- The Buddha's Cuda, Hair, Ushnisha and crown. JRAS. 1928. pp. 815 ff.

26. Gandhara art. Op.cit. No. 284.

27. ibid. p. 133.

28. ibid. No. 287.

29. ibid. No. 289. p. 135.

30. ibid. No. 302.

31. ASI.An. Rep. 1911-12 Pl. xxxvi, fig. 2.

32. Gandhara art. Op.cit p. 137.

33. ibid. No. 232.

34. ibid. Nos. 303-05.

35. ibid. No. 303.

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36. ibid. Nos. 306, 308.

37. see contra. No. 285.

38. ibid. No. 310.

39. ibid. No. 313, cf. Nos. 242 & 326.

40. Foucher- L'art Graeco-Bouddhique II. No. 410 p. 213 ; 428, p. 241 ; 427, p. 239.

41. Gandharan Art Nos. 39A & B.

42. ibid. No. 40.

43. ibid. No. 52.

44. ibid. No. 137.

45. ibid. p. 50. fig. 160.

46. Ingholt. Op.cit. pl. X. 2.

47. Marshall : Gandhara Art. fig. 130, p. 99.

48. Ingholt. Op. cit. No. 110.

49. ibid No. 338.

50. Smith : History of Fine Art, p. 59, pl. 33.

51. Ingholt : Op.cit No. 340 ; 342 (for joint figures).

52. Marshall. Op.cit p. 33.

53. Ingholt. Op.cit No. 40.

54. ibid. No. 443.

55. ibid. No. 492.

56. ibid. No. 391.

57. ibid. No. 397.

58. ibid. Nos. 343 & 345.

59. ibid. p. 21.

60. ibid. No. 347.

61. ibid. Nos. 381-87.

62. ibid. Nos. 388-90 ; 393-5.

63. ibid. Nos. 369-80.

64. ibid. No. 349.

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65. ibid. Nos. 350-52.

66. ibid. Nos. 359-62, 364.

67. ibid. 363, 367.

68. Marshall. Op.cit. fig. No. 97.

69. Marshall. Gandhara Art

70. Ingholt. Op.cit. p. 40.

71. ASR. I. pp. 231-244 ; III. pp. 13-46 ; XVII. pp. 107-112 ; pp. 30-39. Vogel quoted Cunningham's views in his Catalogue of the Mathura Museum p. 29 along with those of others. Prinsep spoke of the so-called 'Silenus' as a piece of sculpture bearing reference to Greek mythology (JASB. V. 1836. pp. 567-570). Despite its classical character it did not reach even the lowest standard of Greek or Hellenistic art. For this reason Growse rejected Cunningham's views (Vogel. Op.cit. p. 29). According to Foucher, the Mathura school far from being a direct and earlier expression of Greek influence, received its classical inspiration indirectly through Gandhara (L'art Greco-Bouddhique, p. 222). Smith expressed the view that the Mathura sculptures have very little in common with those of Gandhara (A History of Fine Art. p. 43). According to Coomaraswamy, sculptures showing traces of Hellenistic influences, taken together constitute a very small fraction of the whole production of this school. (Op.cit. p. 60).

72. Vogel. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12. p. 122 ; La sculpture de Mathura. p. 22 ; Bachhofer. Early Indian sculpture. p. 51, 176 ; Coomaraswamy. Op.cit. p. 165 ; Marg. XV. March 1962.

73. Vogel. La sculpture p. 22. pl. 11 ; Agrawal. JUPHS. XXXII. 1950. p. 74 ; Bachhofer. p. 52 ; JBORS. 1920. p. 15.

74. Vogel. Cat. Mah. Mus. No. G 42 ; Agrawal. Op.cit. p. 77.

75. No. 1251 ; Agrawal. Op.cit p. 78.

76. No. 1252 ibid.

77. No. 1566. ibid.

78. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. Nos. G. 32 & 1252.

79. Marg. March 1962, Vol. XVI p. 43.

80. JA. 1952. pl. vii.

81. ASI. An. Rep. 1909-10, p. 66.

82. According to Tarn, whenever Mathura first received Greek artistic influences it is idle to suppose that people did not know what the Greeks were doing - quite a different matter - or that there could have been in that town a second creation

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of the Buddha image bearing no relation at all to the first creation (Greeks in Bactria & India. p. 404). He quotes Vogel suggesting that their first essays at making Buddhas of their own produces only mediocre figures, gauche and heavy, and of an astonishing uniform (Vogel. La sculpture de Mathura, p. 39).

83. History of Indian and Indonesian art p. 57.

84. Vogel : Cat. Math.Mus. No. A1.

85. ibid. No. A2.

86. ibid. No. N1 & J24.

87. ibid. No. J 18.

88. Smith : The Jain Stupa pl. lxxxvii.

89. Sahni : Cat. Sarnath Mus. No. B(a) 1. pl. vii.

90. Smith : Fine Arts. fig. 94

91. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13. p. 26.

92. Marshall & Other. Cat. Sanchi Mus. p. 59. No. A 82.

93. ibid. No. A 83.

94. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-07. p. 143.

95. JUPHS. XI (II). Dec. 1938. p. 68.

96. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. A 63. p. 62.

97. Cat. Sanchi Mus. No. A 83.

98. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. A 45 pp. 57-58.

99. ibid. No. A 68. p. 64.

100. ibid. No. A 43. p. 57. pl. xvi.

101. The Scythian Period. p. 229.

102. Bachhofer : Early Indian sculpture. II. pl. 84a & b.

103. The Scythian Period. p. 205.

104. History of Indian and Indonesian Art. p. 60.

105. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. H.1.2. p. 125 ff.

106. ibid. H. 6, N. 2(b); 107. No. 2(f).

107. ibid No. 2(f).

108. ibid. H7 & N2(c) ;

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109. ibid. Nos. H7, 8, 9 & N2(a).

110. Vogel. Cat. Math. Mus. No. H3 p. 127.

111. ibid. p. 129.

112. ibid. 11. p. 130.

113. Agrawala. JUPHS. Vol. XXIII (1950). No. 1.14 p. 128.

114. Coomaraswamy. Op.cit. pl. 86.

115. Agrawala. JUPHS. XXXIII (1950). No. B4. p. 39.

116. Luder's List No. 39 ; The Scythian Period. p. 56.

117. Op.cit. p. 219.

118. Luder's List No. 24 ; Smith. The Jain Stupa. pl. xc.

119. EI. II. p. 209 f. No. 37 and plate.

120. Agrawala. JUPHS. XXIII. No. 2502 p. 50.

121. Op. cit. p. 159.

122. Vogel : Cat. Math. Mus. No. B2 p. 184.

123. Several other ayagapatas were found in Mathura. See JUPHS. 1950. Vol. XXIII. Nos. 569, 603, 2563. p. 71. According to Vogel, an ayagapata is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or some other object of worship. The term may be appropriately rendered as 'tablet of homage, or of worship'. These slabs were put up in temples for the worship of the Arhatas. The inscriptions on them show archaic characters, and so probably they went out of fashion at an early period. (Vogel. ibid. note quoting Buhler : EI.II. pp. 311 and 314 ; Smith : Jain Stupa. plates vii-xiii.

124. Vogel : Cat. Math. Mus. No. B2 p. 67.

125. Cunningham : Coins of the Kushanas. Pl. xvii.

126. Whitehead : Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum. Pl.

127. Gardner : Catalogue of Coins of Scythians etc. Pl. xxviii. 10.

128. Whitehead : Cat. Pun. Mus. p. 197. fig. 135. pl. xviii.

129. JRAS. 1897. p. 324.

130. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. D 14. p. 97.

131. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. D 13. p. 97.

132. Agrawala : JUPHS. 1939. p. 29 No. xxi.

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133. Vogel : Op.cit. No. D. 14. p. 97.

134. Whitehead : Cat. Pun. Mus. p. 207 xii, xiii.

135. D.C.Sircar, presumably on the basis of Smith's reading of a legend on a copper coin of Huvishka in the collection of the Indian Museum, has suggested that Vishnu appears on some coins of the Kushana ruler (The Age of Imperial Unity, p.439). According to J.N.Banerjee, the emblems in the hands of the deity are not distinct at all, but they seem to have more affinity with those of Siva - a trident or staff, a thunder-bolt, an antelope etc. (Development of Hindu Iconography. p. 130).

136. Accession No. 2487.

137. ibid. No. 512.

138. ibid. No. 1010.

139. ibid. No. 2520.

140. ibid. No. 985.

141. ibid. No. 141.

142. ibid. No. 2317.

143. ibid. No. F,38.

144. ibid. No. 382.

145. ibid. No. 2583.

146. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. c 15 pp. 90.

147. Accession No. 2949.

148. ibid. No. 269.

149. ibid. No. 1503.

150. Vogel : Cat. Mat. Mus. No. Q 13. p. 189.

151. ibid. No. D 46. p. 104 ; cf. the famous Surya figure carved at Bhaja which might be the earliest representation of this god.

152. Vogel : Op.cit. Nos. D.1, D.3. p. 94.

153. ibid No. c.13 p. 88.

154. Accession No. 439.

155. History of Indian and Indonesian Art. p. 64.

156. Op. cit. p. 64.

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157. JUPHS. 1938. p. 73 with pl.

158. These scenes along with a few others like the lady playing on the drum, another dancing to its accompaniment, the couple in amorous pose etc. are depicted on the door jambs. (Lucknow Museum Nos. J. 268).

159. Saun. IV. 13.

160. Nos. 3026, 1628.

161. ibid. 2642.

162. ibid. 1621.

163. ibid. 2592. 1199A.

164. ibid. 2294.

165. ibid. 2431.

166. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. T3. p. 198.

167. The Stupa of Bharhut p. 107 ; Mahabodhi p. 52.

168. Vogel : Op.cit p. 29 quoting both the opinions.

169. JASB. LVIII (1889) pt. I. pp. 140, 156.

170. Ref. 168.

171. Op. cit. pp. 29 ff.

172. Vogel : Op.cit. p. 15.

173. Op. cit. p. 16.

174. ibid. p. 29. Vogel has quoted Foucher (L'art Greco-Bouddhique I. p. 222). According to him, far from being a direct and earlier expression of Greek influence, it received its classical inspiration indirect through Gandhara.

175. The Art and Architecture of India. (1976) p. 149.

176. 'Marg' XV. 1962. Number 2. p. 44.

177. The town site of Dalverzin-Tepe, about 1 Km. long, was excavated by the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. The town emerged in the 3rd century B.C. and continued to exist upto the 7th century A.D. See Diushambe Conference Papers, Vol. 2, p. 244 ; See also UNESCO History of the Civilization of Central Asia, Vol. II, Paris 1994, Chapter XV, Edited by J. Harmata et al.

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178. See Chapter VII of the Art of Afghanistan by Benjamin Rowland with the bibliography provided at pp. 65-66, including Goddara A. and Hackin J : Les Anticuities bouddhiques de Bamiyan - Memoirs de la Delegation Archaeologue Francaise en Afghanistan, II. 1928 ; Hackin and Carl J. Nouveltees researches arch ecologues a Bamiyan. ibid. III. 1933 ; Rowland. B. The Wall Paintings at Bamiyan, Central Asia and Ceylon (Boston. 1938) ; also his Art in Afghanistan. pp. 35.

179. For a general study of excavations at Begram, see Ghirshman, R. Begram, recherches archaeologiques et historiques sur la Koushans. Memoirs (Cairo 1946). See Rowland. Op.cit for complete bibliography.

180. Macdowall D.W. and Taddei. M. Archaeology of Afghanistan. London 1978. p. 257.

181. Op.cit p. 28.

182. Barthouk. J. - Les Fouilles de Hadda. Figures et figurines. Memoirs. VI. 1930. Rowland. Op.cit. p. 65 for fuller bibliography.

183. The Art of Gandhara. Cambridge. 1960. p. 111. In the words of Marshall, 'while the new clay was productive of a vast amount of indifferent, careless and unimaginative work, it also lent itself in the hands of the more gifted artists, to look of a higher order than anything of which the school had shown itself capable.

184. Rowland. Op.cit. p. 28.

185. Sarianidi. V.I. Excavations of the Tiliya-tepe necropolis in Northern Afghanistan, Lelingrad. 1985 - quoted in UNESCO. History - Op.cit.

186. In the words of Rowland, 'these fragments of stone sculpture from the region of Begram are of great importance, illustrating the final phase of the Gandhara style that was destined to exercise far greater influence on Buddhist sculpture in Central Asia' - Op.cit.

187. Mac Dowall, D.W. and Taddei. M. - Archaeology of Afghanistan. London. 1978. p. 278-9 - quoted in UNESCO Publication - Op.cit.

188. Op.cit. p. 112.

189. For the history of ancient archaeological sites and the material finds there, see Alexander Belenistsky - The Ancient Civilizations of Central Asia - (Op.cit); A.L. Mongait - Archaeology in USSR (Pelicans - Op. cit). The comprehensive bibliography in Belenistsky's work includes a few British titles as well such as L.I.Albaum - Balabek-Tepe (Tashkent (1960) ; O.M. Dalfan : Treasures of the Oxus, London (1926) ; A.V.Gudkova : Topra-Kala. Tashkent (1964) ; G.A. Pugachewkova - Khalchayan. Tashkent. 1965 ; See also Bussagli- Paintings of Central Asia Geneva. 1963.

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190. The first fragment of this frieze was discovered casually by a soldier in October 1922, carved on a stone slab lying in water. Later on in 1936, seven other fragments of the frieze were discovered at Airtam during excavations of a Buddhist shrine by the Termez Archaeological Expedition led by M.E.Masson. The slab of marble stone is some 20 inches high and has a total length of 23 feet. (Belenisky. Op.cit. pp. 98-99. Pl. 49).

191. Bussagli. Op.cit. p. 35.

192. Rowland. Op.cit. p. 131.

193. Ref. No. 190 for the discovery and description.

194. Belenitsky. Op.cit. pp. 99-102. For a detailed study of the site and excavations there, see G.A. Pugachenkowa - Khalchayan Tashkent (1965).

195. The site was discovered by S.P.Tolstov in 1938 and was excavated in 1945 and in subsequent years. Summary in Belenitsy's work Op.cit. pp. 102-03 ; A.L. Margait : Archaeology in the USSR. Op.cit. pp. 239 ff. The excavations at Toprak-Kala provide a study of high level artistic culture of Chorasmia.

196. See Talbot Rice. Op.cit. pp. 118 ff. The sculptures are so correct and tonically and so naturalistic in conception that they might have been inspired by Hellenistic works. They are of stucco and form an integral part of the painted decorations.

197. Belenitsky. Op.cit. pp. 104-105.

198. The Miran paintings were first noticed and recorded by Aurel Stein in his Ruins of Desert Cathay, Vol. I, pp. 452ff, and later on in his Serindia, Vol. I , pp. 497 ff. These are described in detail by F.H. Andrews in his Catalogue - 1934 as also in detail along with illustrations in his Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia. 1948. XVIII-XX. Bussagli has a special chapter on Miran Paintings in his work on Paintings of Central Asia. Op.cit. pp. 19 ff. The art here is supposed to have stemmed from India and Gandhara.

199. Andrews. Op.cit. p. 3 ; Stein. Ruins. Op.cit. p. 470 pl. V.

200. Stein. Ruins. p. 473.

201. Andrews. Op.cit. p. 3.

202. It is suggested by Andrews that this motive does not seem to have survived into later periods in India or Central Asia. (Wall Paintings. p. 10).

203. Stein. Ruins. fig. 146.

204. Wall Paintings. p. xxi.

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205. For details and Bibliography - See A. Stein- Ancient Khotan, 2 Vols. Oxford. 1907 ; also his Sana-Buried Ruins of Khotan, London. 1907, and also his Serindia, 5 Vols. Oxford. 1921.

206. 'Hariti with Five Children' - Painting from shrine XII from Farhad Begyailaki. 20. cxii. 1024. Collection of the National Museum. It is supposed to be of mid-sixth century A.D. See Andrews- Catalogue of Wall Paintings, p. 17 for a fuller description.

207. Andrews - Catalogue. Op.cit. p. 13 ; Bussagli- Op.cit. pp.55,57. P. Banerji in his Paper on 'Hindu Deities in Central Asia' (Vivekanand Volume p. 2075) considers the figure to be that of Indra because of the presence of the eye on the hand.

208. Andrews. Op.cit. no. Bal. 02000, p. 22 ; Bussagli. Op.cit. pp. 60, 63.

209. Stein. Ancient Khotan. Pl. XL. Talbot Rice. Op.cit. Pl. 19.

210. For a description, see Bussagli- Op.cit. p. 61. It is probably of the seventh century.

211. Stein- Ancient Khotan. D.X. Pl. LXIII. Bussagli. Op.cit. p.56.

212. For a general review of Central Asian Paintings from Centres on the Northern Route, see Bussagli- Op.cit pp. 69 ff. The paintings in the Central Museum, Berlin, are catalogued under Central Asian Art in the work Along the Ancient Silk Routes, Newyork. (Op.cit).

213. The cowherd Nanda. c. 500 A.D. MLK. III. 8838. Bussagli- Op.cit. p. 72 ; Herbel- Central Asian Art no. 9. pp. 66-67.

214. Young Ascetic- Wall Painting from the cave of the Navigator, c. 500. I B 8389. State Museum, Berlin ; Bussagli- Op.cit. p. 74 ; Talbot Rice- Op.cit. p. 192 illus. 181. He traces Indian influence combined with Greco-Roman in the head of this ascetic.

215. Hertel. Op.cit. p. 35 ; Bussagli. Op.cit. p. 73.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE KUSHANAS AND THE ASIAN PERSPECTIVE

The role of the Kushanas in the history of Central Asia has been positive, effective and of a lasting nature. It is characterised by the political integration of a vast area under a Central regime with sound administrative control. This was envisaged to contain disturbing and fissiparous tendencies of peoples of different nationalities and religions living within their empire. The extent of this empire is not precisely defined but it did include in the north the Central Asian Republican States formerly forming part of the Soviet Union. It is said to have adjoined the Han-dynasty China in the east and the Parthian kingdom in the west. Perpetual clashes between the Kushanas and their easterly and westerly neighbours are reported in Chinese accounts as also in classical Greek sources. In one Chinese text the rulers of the Kushan Empire are called along with the Roman and Han rulers, the 'sons of heaven' between whom the universe was divided. Archaeological excavations at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan and at several other sites in Tajikistan and Uzbegistan have confirmed Kushano-Sassanian clashes under Ardeshir and Shapur much to the disadvantage of the former. The results were inconclusive, since the Kushanas in Central Asia continued to flourish even after the set back suffered by them in the middle of the third century A.D. Then Kushana ruler Vasudeva (Po-tiao) is reported to have sent a political mission to China in A.D. 230, as mentioned in the Chinese text San-kuvo-tche.

The political unification of peoples and tribes of different ethnic background, language, culture and religion not only ensured security and safety to those living in this vast region but this

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factor equally accounted for the efflorescence of a composite culture with different elements equally represented in it. This could be traced in the Socio-religious and Economic aspects of life, Art and Architecture as also in Language and Literature. The co-existence and close cooperation of the agricultural regions with those of the nomadic tribes was a typical feature of Kushan ethos in Central Asia. Of course, this did not rule out clashes between the settled population and the noveau arrivals pushed out from their houseland by a powerful and dominating tribe. This penetration or the so-called conquest by the peripheral nomads was a normal feature before the settlement of the Kushans in the region called Bactria. It had a developed civilization running through the period of the Achaemenids and the Indo-Greeks, of whom it was the main seat of power. It as well possessed rich traditions of developed political organization and an equally rich culture. Bactria thus became the nucleus of the Kushan kingdom before it took the shape of a big empire rivalling that of the Hans in China.

With Bactria as the base for the conquest and expansion of the Kushana empire under the Kadphises rulers and Kanishka, it did not take long time to conquer and consolidate the new possessions - Kabul (Kao-Ful), Taxila and the adjoining regions (Pu-ta) of the present Punjab area of Pakistan, and Parthia (An-si) in the west. Further, the expansion towards the east was the achievement of Vima Kadphises who had conquered India (Tien-Sien) according to the Chinese annals and appointed there a Viceroy for governing it. Kanishka, in turn, moved in the south-westerly direction conquering Sindh and also the region of Malwa, as confirmed by the finds of Kushana inscriptions and coins. His conquest of

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Northern India as far as Pataliputra is confirmed by the Chinese translation of Sridharmapitaka-nidana Sutra rendered in A.D. 472. It mentions Chen-tian-Kia-ni-Cha (Kanishka) defeating the king of Pataliputra and demanding a large indemnity. He, however, agreed to accept, in lieu of it, Asvaghosha, the Buddha's alms bowl, and a naturally compassionate cock. The conquest of parts of Central Asia followed that of northern India. According to the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang, Kanishka governed by his vast army a wide territory even to the east of Tsung-ling mountains. He also refers to the Central Asian princes being kept as hostages by the Kushan ruler.

Such a vast empire was governed through Kshatrapas - or State chiefs with defined areas under their control, emulating the pattern set up by the Achaemenians, the Greeks and the Indo-Greeks. There were probably two capitals - at Purushapura and Mathura - for exercising effective control and efficient administration. All the administrative heads appear to have been foreigners. There is no Indian name of any Kshatrapa. Some might have been connected with the Kushans, such as Lala of the Manikiala inscription is described as 'the increaser of the Kushana race' (Gushana-vasa-Samvardhak). The officials like dandanayakas 'wielder of law and justice', with their higher appelations connoted by the prefix maha attached to their office - were equally foreigners. Indian officials figure only at the local level, like village heads. The administrative pattern evolved in the Kushana period was followed to a considerable extent in later times as well. The official danda-nayaka with his increased status as mahadandanayaka figures even in later inscriptions from different parts of the country and under many dynasties. In Central Asia the prominent official was the

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Coz-bo.

The overthrow of the Indo-Greek rule in Bactria and North-west India did not imply any radical change - administrative or cultural in the local situation. In fact, the Indo-Greek rulers had by the second or the first century B.C. lost touch with the western world, and these ambitious local rulers were engaged in their struggle for power and acquisition of new territory. With the conquest of the Kushans, the cultural traditions of the area were not obliterated but rather accepted by the new rulers. Greek writing was promoted as apparent from its use on the Kushan coins with the names of rulers recorded in this script. The Surkh Kotal inscription in Greek script is another instance of its importance in administration. So also were Greek divinities portrayed on the Kushan ruler's coins. Besides these elements of classical antiquity and influence, the wonderful traditions of Greek art found their best expression in this period. The rulers equally patronised Greek art in India couched in the Buddhist religious traditions. In fact, the origin of the Buddha image could be traced to the ingenuity of these artists.

The Kushanas in India were gradually assimilated in the Indian ethos. While Kujula Kadphises was a 'promotee of true law' (satyadharma-sthitasya), his son Vima Kadphises was a Mahesvara, a devotee of Mahesa or Siva as confirmed by the appearance of the figure of this god on his coins accompanied by his sacred bull. Kanishka was a firm believer in eclecticism - 'sages name variously that which is One' - corresponding to the Vedic hymn on this point. Personally he might have been a Buddhist since his name is associated with the foundation of a Buddhist vihara, near Peshawar for the Sarvastivadins. His coins depict divinities drawn from different

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pantheons - Hindu, Buddhist, Iranian, Greek and Roman, including local cult deities - male as well as female. His son Huvishka broadened the base of Hindu pantheon by including sons of Siva - Skanda, Kumara and Visakha as also Sankarsana, Vasudeva, the last ruler of this family was an Indianised or rather a Hinduised Kushana as is evident from his name. The reference to the devakulas or 'gods house' suggests portraits-statues of gods and dead Kushan rulers in that category. The five cult temple at Surkh-Kotal in Afghanistan is an example of freedom of worship accorded to people of different religions under the Kushans. It as well symbolised socio-religious syncreticism in the vast empire of the Kushanas noted for ethnic and cultural heterogeneity. The spirit of tolerance ensured not only the development of local cultural pattern, but also the elaboration and propagation of common cultural values for the entire area of the Kushana empire. People in general subscribing to any of the current religious faiths were familiar with each other's religious traditions, but also with local creeds and tribal cults , and probably with Manichaeism. Such a variety of religious creeds and ethnic divisions in the population with different traditional philosophical systems and popular beliefs was a rare phenomena, rather unparallel in the history of human civilization.

Religious systems as well crossed the territorial limits of their original land to find new adherents to their fold. They were successful in attracting others mainly because of their universal appeal for brotherhood. It was the triumph of reason over the use of force for such purposes. It was in the Kushans period that Mahayana Buddhism received an impetus for expansion in Central Asia and even beyond in China. Centres of Buddhist religion and philosophy were established on the famous Silk Trade Route, both on its

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Northern as als-o on the Southern curves. The Chinese pilgrims have recorded the number of monasteries of both the schools, the Mahayana - the Great Vehicle - as also the Hinayana - the smaller Vehicle with the number of residents at each centre. 'The Lotus of the True Law' (Saddharma-pundarika) was the most popular work, since the maximum number of manuscripts of this work were found by the explorers of different missions and nationalities in Central Asia.

The role of Buddhist scholars from Kabul (Kao-fu) and Kashmir who had settled there, include the famous Patriarch - Kumarajiva, son of Kumarayana a scholar from Kashmir and Jiva his spouse from the Kuchean royal family. Kumarajiva was not only a scholar but an institution in the true sense who drew votaries to his shrine of learning both in Kucha as also at Loyang where he lived till the end of his life. The process of propagating Buddhism in China had started much earlier. A monk of rare learning named Lokashema of Tukhara origin went to Loyang in A.D. 147 and translated there some of the most important texts of Buddhist canon into Chinese. Still earlier, the two Buddhist missionaries to reach China in A.D. 68 were Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksha. Central Asia was the repository of Buddhist texts as well, and Khotan was famous for its rare manuscripts.

The role of Sanskrit in the propagation and preservation of Buddhism and its canonical texts can well be ascertained from the finds of Buddhist manuscripts in this language. It was studied by Buddhist scholars and it occupied a prominent place in the curriculum of studies . The find of several recensions of the Kantara-vyakarana or Sanskrit grammar according to the school of Kantara is specific in this context. Secular Sanskrit texts of secular nature

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have also been found including the unique drama of Asvaghosha, named Sariputraprakarana. The Buddhist poet was a contemporary of king Kanishka.

The creative part of Buddhism found its reflection in the Buddhist temple architecture which might have been a later phase, but it did have its beginning in the Buddhist temple in Bactria. The Greek artists - proficient in carving out beautiful images as also in painting - found their way in Central Asia. They remained anonymous, but one such name, that of Titus, appears on the foot of an elephant in the Vessantara Jataka scene from Miran. The earliest impact on the art of Central Asia was from Gandhara and its artists. They were inspired by Greek traditions as modified in Rome. These artists carried with them their pictorial and sculptural art to Central Asia. The indigenous talents however accepted these artistic influences with discrimination. The culture of the sedentary settlements of the southern region was of course more vigorous and was equally vitalised by exchanges and contacts with the western and southern regions, particularly Afghanistan, Persia and India. The northern states were less influenced because of inept exposure to foreign influence. Buddhism and its expansion no doubt provided the base. The artistic activities in both the regions, and equally served as a centripetal force for devotees of different social groups in Central Asia. They joined hands or acted independently in offering their services for the dissemination of Buddhist art and religion in Central Asia. Thus, episodes from the life of the Buddha Sakyamuni and his previous births were depicted on the walls of cave shrines on the Indian model of Ajanta and Bagh, as also Gandhara pictorial art of Bamiyan, with the narration following the ancient Buddhist texts. The decorator's

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industry seemed to be extensive with a prolonged period of evolution of art. The painter's industry was in a fairly advanced stage and equally productive. The commercial enterprise on the trade routes with the patronage and contribution of traders and merchants proved helpful in generating art activities with the services of roving artists easily available.

Bactria, the nucleus of the Kushana kingdom adopted the best in ancient Graeco-Roman culture as also elements of Indian artistic traditions. This is evident from the famous Airtam reliefs discovered near Termez. Carved in high relief on stone are half length figures of male and female musicians and bearers of offerings, each figure being framed in acanthus leaves. This freize is dated by stylistic analysis and by association with other archaeological material to be of the Kushana period. The blending of the Iranian and Graeco-Bactrian influence in shaping Kushana art with the subject matter continuing to be Buddhist was the notable feature of the time. This did not rule out the existence of different schools and trends in Kushana art which were occasionally linked together. The creative assimilation and merging of local and foreign traditions accounted for the emergence of typical Kushana art in Central Asia which had its secular side as well. The decoration of palaces with painted clay sculptures, purely local in material and imagination, was normal in Bactria before the Kushanas.

The Kushana art outlived the Kushana state for quite a long time in India as well as in Central Asia. Traditions of Kushana art could be traced in the sculptures of the Gupta period and even on coins. It is equally discernable in the Sogdian murals and reliefs from Pjanjikent and Varakasha, and in Eastern Turkestan. The Kushana art is also reported to be a source of inspiration to

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artists in Central Asia, India and the Far East. This aspect of art study, however, calls for a fuller examination of data in all aspects before pronouncing any opinion. The dress of the Gupta ruler offering incense before the altar on the standard type of Gupta coins compares favourably with the Ardoksho type of the Kushana coinage. Other features as well reveal similarity.

Much more important than art and culture is the economic activity - particularly trade and agriculture. Both had phenomenal growth in the Asian continent, particularly in the regions forming part of the Kushana empire. The Great Silk Trade Route, the first trans-continental trade and diplomatic channel in the history of man kind, was laid across the lands of the Kushanas and the Parthians from China to the Mediterranean Roman Empire. The main Silk Route began at Changan, the then capital of China and passed through Lang-Chou to Tun-huang. Here the Route was divided into two - the Northern one passed in a straight line through Turfan and Chiu-tzo into Akshi and from Kashgar to Ferghana via Samarkand, and to Antioch in Margiane. The Southern Route covered Khotan and Yarkand reaching the capital of Bactria and then to Zariaspa and Antioch. The two routes joined here on way to Hicetomphylos, the ancient capital of Parthia and thence to Media Ecbatana and Mesopotamia, and across Euphrates to the ancient ports on the Mediterranean. The political stability in the Kushana period with an extensive empire facilitated international trade.

Besides the Silk Route, there was regular maritime activity between Egypt then conquered by the Romans, and West Indian ports providing gate-way to the Kushana empire in India. It is proposed by Russian archaeologists that the road across the steppe land from the interflurial area of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and the Syr Darya

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(Jaxarta) to the ancient East European towns north of the Black sea was laid in the Kushana period. This provided wide and varied contacts between the peoples of the Mediterranean countries, the North and Middle East Central Asia, the Indian sub-continent and the Far East. These were further developed. It is needless to record the items of trade or make any reference to balance of payments which was definitely in favour of the Indian traders, causing worry to Greek historians like Pliny, who have recorded it.

Archaeological excavations in Central Asia also brought to light evidence of land economy with expansion of agricultural oases, especially in the southern region. Irrigational net works were developed to bring in large area under cultivation. Traces of irrigation and expansion of irrigated land area in Central Asia during the Kushana period were found in the land along the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya. The information relating to agricultural economy is equally available from the Kharoshthi records. The irrigation of fields was done through canals , and distant areas needing it urgently could have water against payment. Water was not allowed to go waste or be misappropriated. Agricultural growth was primarily due to the rapid expansion of irrigation bringing more areas under cultivation and also producing highly diversified crops. Crop farming combined with live stock breeding as well played an important role in the economic life of the people.

The famous Silk Trade Route linked China with the western world and the Kushanas encouraged trade and with it followed culture and diplomatic relations. The Romans were fond of Indian cosmetics and articles of finery. Roman patricians liked to adorn their homes with ivory figurines brought by Indian traders. Indian ivory

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articles of the Kushana period were found in Pompeii and Roman glassware in the palace of the Kushana rulers in Begram. It is equally reported that Kushana ambassadors attended the celebrations on the occasion of Trayan's victory over the Dacians. So also Central Asia had extensive trade with China. Luxury items were the main ones of trade and the Sogdians played an important role in the development of trade links. In Tun-huang letters in the Sogdian language were found dating back to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (or to the end of the second century A.D.). There is reference to people of Samarkand totally a thousand living here. Several letters contain information relating to Sogdian merchants, their merchandise, trade and prices etc. At the diplomatic level too there were exchanges of gifts and presentation of indigenous goods of fine quality. The Mahabharata refers to presents brought to Yudhishtira from Vahlika (Bactria) consisting of woollen blankets, beautifully dyed and pleasant to touch, as also various kinds of fabrics, sheep skins, weapons and precious stones. The gifts from the Sakas and Tokharis (Tochari) included good breed horses, capable of covering long distances. The Romakas - probably those from Rome - are as well mentioned in this context.

The role of the Kushanas in the history of Asia between the first and the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. was positive and fairly productive. It symbolised political unity within an extensive empire which had peoples of different ethnic origins, nationality and religions. It provided a new stage for the development of a cultural ethos based on mutual understanding and respect for each other's faith - a clear manifestation of eclectic spirit and toleration. The personal faith of rulers did not impose any brake on their broadmindedness. Free

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trade and commerce between different wings of the empire ensured material progress and prosperity of which the use of gold coins on the pattern of the Roman aurie, conforming to weight and intrinsic value, is an index. Religious beliefs accounted for the efflorescence of art in Gandhara, Bactria and Mathura which was based on indigenous art traditions and augmented by foreign influences. Foreign artists provided their services for the display of art in sculptures and paintings. A review of the multi-facet activities would suggest that the period had a fairly good economy and was noted for its progress in the international world. It did leave its impact on the succeeding generation both in India as also in Central Asia, of course for a longer period of time at the latter end.

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